The Outlook

JUNE 26, 1918

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ENLIST FOR THE WAR SAVING ARMY

On June 18 there began a campaign of war savings. Its objective—to use a military term—was to enlist every one in the United States in a great thrift army. The plan is to continue the campaign for eleven days, culminating on June 28, to be known as National War Savings Day. Those who enlist sign pledges to save regularly and to invest savings in War Savings Stamps and Thrift Stamps. The summons for this campaign was issued by President Wilson in the following words:

> I earnestly appeal to every man, woman, and child to pledge themselves, on or before the 28th of June, to save constantly and buy regularly Government securities. The person who buys War Savings Stamps transfers the purchasing power of his money to the United States Government until after the war. May there be none unenlisted in the great volunteer army of production and savings.

It is almost impossible for any man or woman, quite impossible for any child, to appreciate the immense benefit that the country will derive from this campaign if men, women, and children throughout the country take part in this campaign whole-heartedly. It is expected that out of the consequent small savings the Nation will have secured the use of two billion dollars. It is to be remembered that this money is not given to the Nation, it is loaned. Beginning with the formation of war-saving societies, the campaign will continue by securing individual pledges; and it will culminate on June 28, when effort will be made to complete the full enlistment of this great army.

Here is something that every child as well as every man and woman in the land can do to help win the war. The spirit of the people of America is irresistible, and it is bound to make this campaign a success. Enlist now.

THE UNDERWOOD RESOLUTION

The United States Senate has held fast to its prerogative of unlimited debate. By a vote of 41 to 34 it has defeated the resolution to limit speeches. The original proposal was that speeches be limited to an hour on the main question and twenty minutes on an amendment. This was later amended to a total of an hour and a half, the Senator to be allowed to use his own discretion as to whether he should discuss the bill or an amendment. A still later amendment provided that the new rule should not apply to any measure brought in by a majority caucus. The adoption of this amendment helped to kill the original resolution, because it would have embarrassed the Democratic majority in caucusing on the expected new tax bill.

In a letter from Senator Underwood, the author of the resolution, we learn that President Wilson, although he did not take an active part in the fight, was heartily in favor of the resolution, and that the final vote came as a surprise to the Administration. The defeat came chiefly on account of the disaffection of a dozen members on the Democratic side at the last moment. Most of these members were from the Southern States. They were induced to vote against the proposed rule, it is believed, largely because it was represented to them that if they did not do so certain Southern interests in which they were interested might be seriously affected by drastic legislation, the result of limited debate.

Although the Underwood resolution has gone down to defeat, sooner or later, we are sure, the logic of events will again bring it, or its equivalent, before the Senate and force its adoption.

THE BORAH RESOLUTION

By a much larger majority (namely, a vote of 50 to 23) than that in the case of the Underwood resolution, the Senate defeated the Borah resolution providing for the public consideration of treaties.

In outlining peace terms before Congress on January 8, 1918, President Wilson declared that "open covenants of peace openly arrived at" are requisite to a lasting peace, and that "diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view." This was welcome especially to William E. Borah, Senator from Idaho, who for the past eight years has opposed the Senate rule of secret consideration of treaties. In a letter to The Outlook since the defeat of his resolution Mr. Borah says that nothing has transpired "in any wise to dampen my ardor as to the righteousness of this contention. I have served a new notice for the change of the rule, and will continue to urge it at every proper moment so long as I am in public life. . . . If secret diplomacy and the making of treaties in a secret method are correct principles, then we are wholly mistaken as to the basic principles of democratic government." Mr. Borah's resolution provided that all treaties should be considered by the Senate in open session, except when that body, by a two-thirds vote, should decide that the consideration should be secret. This resolution was practically the same as one offered by Mr. Borah some months ago but not reported.

The proposal was defeated largely through the publication of a letter dated March 12—just after the original Borah resolution was introduced—from President Wilson to Secretary Lansing. The President explained that his language of last January meant, "not that there should be no private discussions of delicate matters, but that no secret agreement of any sort should be entered into, and that all international relations, when fixed, should be open, aboveboard, and explicit."

The danger of secret negotiations is illustrated by the pending treaty with Colombia, by which our Government obtains nothing except Colombia's consent to recognize the Republic of Panama and to delimit the boundary between herself and Panama. We, on the other hand, express regret that anything should have interrupted the friendship between the two countries (practically an apology for our course in Panama, every act of which was perfectly justifiable). We consent to hand over $25,000,000. We propose to violate the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty by giving Colombia free canal passage and to violate the favored-nation clause in many treaties by granting to Colombia other privileges extended to no other country. Does any one suppose that in open discussion such provisions would have been generally defended?

On the other hand, the most elementary wisdom suggests limitations upon public discussion of treaties in the Senate. A rule requiring the discussion or negotiation of treaties always to be in the open would practically put us in a position of impotence in our foreign relations.

The choice presented to the Senate was not one between an entirely secret and an entirely open diplomacy. Had that been the question, the vote might have been different. The issue was one between the present system, under which the rule is secrecy in any treaty discussion, while open discussion is exceptional, and the Borah resolution, under which the general rule would be publicity in discussion while secret discussion would be exceptional.

The objection to the Borah plan is that it would instantly accentuate in the public mind those treaties requiring secrecy, and would awaken suspicion concerning them. The adverse

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vote reflects, we believe, the general opinion throughout the country.

MR. FORD AND THE SENATORSHIP

At what he declares to be "the urgent request of the President of the United States," Henry Ford, originator and manufacturer of the Ford motor car and one-time patron of the Ford "peace argosy," has announced, "I have decided to accept the nomination for Senator from Michigan if tendered to me."

There is the same engaging *naïveté* about this announcement as there was about his statement in the autumn of 1915 that he was going abroad to get the boys "out of the trenches by Christmas." Mr. Ford is nominally a Republican. In 1916 he was a candidate for the Republican nomination for President. The chance of his receiving the nomination was about as remote as the chance of being torpedoed by a submarine on Lake Michigan; but he took his candidacy seriously. He is now with equal seriousness declaring his willingness to make the sacrifice of serving in the Senate. He evidently believes that, though the President is a Democrat, there is nothing anomalous in expecting that the President's influence may secure him the Republican nomination. Since a Democratic Senator from Michigan is almost as improbable as a Republican Senator from Virginia, Democratic leaders in the State must have enjoyed passing their resolution inviting the Republican State Central Committee to urge other candidates to withdraw and unite with the Democrats in support of Mr. Ford.

As a discoverer of the capacity of the common people for the consumption of automobiles, and as an organizer of the means to supply automobiles to the common people, Mr. Ford is a genius. He has exceptional gifts in discerning popular economic demands and supplying them. He has won a great fortune because he had the insight to discern a latent demand and the energy and ingenuity to supply it. He is an organizer, and his factory is so built that he can turn his resources from the building of Ford motor cars to the building of a new and special type of submarine chasers, called "Eagles." His singular success, however, is no proof that he is a master of public questions, that he has the qualifications of a statesman, that he can create, interpret, or guide and lead public opinion concerning those great problems of human conduct on which the destinies of nations turn. On the contrary, Mr. Ford has shown himself unable to understand the minds of his fellow-men at this critical period of the world's history, and he has shown an almost pathetic readiness to believe that the great moral forces of mankind can be directed to what he calls good ends by money in the hands of the inexpert. If there ever was a children's crusade, it was the peace expedition which he launched in the midst of the world war. Some of his opponents at this time dislike Mr. Ford's commercial methods, decry his policy in the handling of labor, and in other respects distrust him. It is, however, not necessary to cast any doubt upon Mr. Ford's good faith in order to hold that he has no capacity whatever for public office which calls for the exercise of the qualities of a statesman.

THE ITALIAN FRONT HOLDS: THE GERMAN DRIVE IN THE WEST HALTS

Austria's long-deferred attack on the Italian front either is very slow in its development or, as seems more probable, is only half-hearted in its execution. The Italians have always shown themselves able to cope with exclusively Austrian armies. Up to June 18 the present offensive made no serious inroads on the Italian lines. Neither has there been any evidence that Austria in this great effort is to be supported by German divisions such as those which in the attack of last November broke the Italian front and opened the way for Austrian armies to push the Italians back so extensively.

The Italian generals, after the great disaster, rallied their forces on the bank of the Piave, and also fell back from the foothills of the Alps on the north between the upper Piave and the Brenta rivers, thus defending a long line some distance north of the important cities of Vicenza and Verona, and extending eastward to the Piave, and then southward so as to reach the Adriatic beyond Venice. At that time military strategists doubted greatly whether this line could be permanently held. But it was held, was reinforced by British and French divisions, and it still holds firm at this writing.

Austria, during the first week of its offensive, strove, first with about half a million men, later with nearly a million, to establish footholds across the Piave in the southern part of the line and to push forward from the Asiago plateau in the northern section. These efforts, up to June 18, met with no considerable success, and among the Allies the failure had begun to be regarded as definite. London papers, for instance, describe the offensive as a "kill or cure" measure, and believe that it will have "a tremendously adverse effect on the already disheartened people" of Austria.

On the western front the week under discussion brought no serious changes. It is now evident that the latest German offensive had as its central point of attack the city of Compiègne. This would give Germany a key position for an advance along the Oise and for activity between the Oise and the Aisne. There has been a tendency to look at the new and semi-abortive push between Montdidier and Noyon as part of a direct attack on Paris. More probably, we think, the purpose is to link together the previous salients gained by Germany, leaving it to be determined in what direction the next effort shall be made in accordance with the disposition of the Allies' forces. In other words, the Germans are working, not on one fixed plan, but to secure a choice of action. The strategy of General Foch is based on the "genius of patience"—a phrase which he has himself used. He has now nearly eliminated the possibility of a great surprise, and his power of defense is strengthened constantly. In the day-to-day clashes recently the French, British, and American units have held their own—and a little more.

AMERICA IN THE WAR

In all the recent fighting on the western front American soldiers have proved themselves worthy of their country, and their service is daily increasing in importance. They have held on under repeated and vicious attacks in the Belleau Woods sector; they have suffered with fortitude terrible mustard gas attacks; last week, in the Toul sector, they made an attack upon the village of Xivray, and at our last accounts were holding the place after fierce and close fighting with bayonets and clubbed rifles.

The welcome news made public by General March, Chief of the United States General Staff, that we have passed the 800,000 mark in troops sent overseas, was followed by Provost-Marshal General Crowder's statement that the entire American Army would number 3,000,000 by August 1; of these 2,000,000 will come from the draft, the rest through enlistment. In both statements the figures are all-inclusive. General March was particular to state that the figure of 800,000 included, not only combatants, but all branches of the military services—the medical service, the service of the rear, and "all the number of units which go to make up an entire army." Probably most people understood this before, but Secretary Baker's statements have always lacked explicitness in this matter. Naval increase is also planned. Congress has been urged by Admiral Benson and others to raise immediately the total enlisted strength of the Navy to 131,485 men (it is now about 87,000) and to provide more high officers. This looks to the future as well as to the present.

All allowances made, the vastness of the task accomplished in moving a million men three thousand miles across the sea (and the number will almost surely be a million within a month), and of feeding, supplying, and caring for them, is astounding. It is gratifying to note that English and French papers are now most cordial in their recognition of the speed and volume with which American soldiers are being put into the field.

The anniversary of the landing in France of General Pershing with the first small contingent of Americans—June 13, 1917—has brought out a cordial exchange of messages between France and America. President Poincaré cabled to President Wilson: "The Allies, owing to the Russian capitulation, are living through the most difficult hours of the war,

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but the rapid formation of new American units and the uninterrupted increase in overseas transportation are leading us with certainty toward the day when the equilibrium is restored." President Wilson, in reply, in firm and unmistakable language, expressed the "fixed and unalterable purpose to send men and materials in steady and increasing volume until any temporary inequality of force is entirely overcome and the forces of freedom made overwhelming, for they are convinced that it is only by victory that peace can be achieved and the world's affairs settled upon a basis of enduring justice and right." Finally, General Foch uttered these fitting words of felicitation and courage: "A year ago brought to us the American sword. To-day we have seen it strike. It is the certain pledge of victory. By it our hearts are more closely united than ever."

THE SUBMARINE AND THE MOTOR BOAT

Italian sailors lately showed that the submarine is not the only small craft capable of engaging a dreadnought. Commander Rizzo and Commander Milazzo with two tiny motor boats had the audacity to attack Austrian war-ships out at sea. One 20,000-ton battle-ship was destroyed by a torpedo, another was disabled, and a destroyer was crippled. This was in itself no inconsiderable naval victory, while the moral value of such an exhibition of intrepidity is cheering in a high degree. Six months ago Commander Rizzo sank another Austrian battle-ship, the Wien, at Trieste. Commander Rizzo's rival in such exploits is Captain Pellegrini, who recently raided Pola Harbor and destroyed a dreadnought.

German submarine activities on the American coast have dwindled, but may be renewed. The latest report of a loss was that of a Norwegian sailing ship, the Kringsjaa. This is, we believe, the twenty-first vessel to be destroyed. The German sea-lawyers must labor desperately to build up a defense for the destruction on the high seas and beyond all the German-made danger zones of a neutral vessel, unarmed and guiltless of offense. Another ship recently destroyed was the Vindeggen, loaded with copper, eighty tons of which was transferred to the submarine, which doubtless then made speed for Germany, where copper is precious. These two attacks from their dates show conclusively that at least two submarines have been over here. Admiral Wemyss, First Sea Lord of the British Admiralty, lately expressed a strong opinion that only one submarine had operated on the American coast. Apparently he was mistaken in this, but he was right in attributing the motive of this submarine campaign to the German wish to frighten the American people and cause us to withdraw war-vessels from convoy duty. The total failure of this scheme is seen in the immense increase this month of American troop transportation.

COAL PROBLEMS

When Dr. Garfield, United States Coal Administrator, speaks in so many words of "the alarming fuel situation," it is natural that people are everywhere asking what is being done to meet that situation. Before we actually emerged from the coal famine of last winter it was a common belief that, as we were now warned, it would be easy to take measures to prevent the recurrence of distress. Perhaps such measures have been taken; but there seems to be a cloud of doubt about the matter. Is the remedy to come from increased production, from better distribution, from economy in use, or from barring out certain industries (not considered essential to war work and imperative needs), or is it by a combination of these methods?

A recent circular from coal operators declares that the real trouble, so far as anthracite is concerned at least, is the lack of labor; that the anthracite output could be increased at once by a quarter, or even a third, if labor could be had; that the number of mine-workers in the anthracite industry has fallen off from 177,000 before the war to 145,000 now. In soft-coal production the same is probably true, and the situation is relatively worse because, even though the coal production is increased, the present war-time manufacturing has increased vastly more. Last year's total coal production was many millions of tons in excess of the year before, yet it was many more millions short of the demand for use. The shortage of cars and engines was another element in the trouble last year. Has everything possible been done to remedy this? Meanwhile, the last week of May saw a considerable decline in actual coal production over previous weeks.

If we read aright the rather vague expressions of the Fuel Administration, its dependence seems to be partly on individual economy (and perhaps a forced individual economy), and partly upon the refusal of coal to so-called non-essential industries. A tentative system of preferences in the distribution of coal is put forward. The order runs: Railways; Army and Navy; institutions, Governmental and philanthropic; public utilities; retail dealers. Beyond these come manufacturing plants not included in any of the classes, to be supplied according to the order recommended by the War Industries Board and approved by the Fuel Administration. The whole question of preferential coal distribution is delicate and difficult. Therefore the business of the country cannot too soon know what it is to expect in this direction if, as now seems probable, some businesses are to be cramped for coal.

THE PROSPECT FOR COAL IN THE HOMES

The consumer of domestic coal has had his course laid down with somewhat painful definiteness; yet he is by no means sure of what is before him. He has seen placards staring at him everywhere saying, "Be Patriotic; Order Your Coal at Once." He has ordered his coal early; perhaps he has got a third of it; he hopefully expects to get the second third, although some dealers say that he won't get it before the fall; he feels very shaky indeed about getting his third third.

If he is a good citizen, he told the truth when he filed his coal card as to the amount he used last year, the amount he has in the cellar, and the amount he ought to have next year. If he is a skeptical citizen, he wonders whether anybody is checking up the statements of less scrupulous citizens as made on their coal cards, and whether any one is checking up to find if there may possibly exist dealers who take a risk and "play favorites" in the delivery of coal. If he is an optimist, he believes that the Fuel Administration will see that citizens who have complied with the rules will get fair treatment—and we know of no evidence to the contrary. In any case, if he is a sensible citizen he will husband his fuel as Dr. Garfield urges him to do, making doors and windows tight, using gas or oil for cooking, wood for light heating, and coal only as real need requires, not carelessly nor with persistence in luxurious conditions of temperature.

It doesn't matter much, perhaps, whether our citizen is a skeptic or an optimist on coal, but it is going to matter a whole lot whether or not he is honest and sensible!

COMMENCEMENT AT VANDERBILT

Among the college Commencements, that celebrated by Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, was distinguished by the fact that it marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of Dr. J. H. Kirkland's Chancellorship. It is seldom that the head of an institution of the standing of Vanderbilt University serves for so long a period. The forty-year term of President Eliot, of Harvard, is exceptional, and it is still more rare that such a term of service is characterized by such a crescendo of power and effectiveness as Dr. Kirkland's Chancellorship has been.

When Dr. Kirkland's predecessor retired, the University had entered upon a crisis in its affairs. On the day that the new Chancellor was elected there was an overdraft in bank of between thirty and forty thousand dollars and an indebtedness of perhaps double that amount. There was no expectation that the family of the founder, Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt, would come to the University's assistance. As a matter of fact, the founder's son has repeatedly aided the University. Chancellor Kirkland has steered the institution through waters troubled not only by financial storms but by ecclesiastical and legal controversies. It is only within the last few years that, as a consequence of his policy, Vanderbilt University has passed from its stage of dependence upon Church control, and, like Harvard and Yale and Princeton, which originally were nurslings of the Church, has become free from all allegiance except to the country and to the truth. In no small degree this progress is due to Chancellor

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Kirkland's modesty as well as to his insight and courage. By his modesty he has enlisted the co-operation of the sort of men who cannot be driven but can and will follow a leader.

Perhaps the most notable feature of this Commencement observance was the speech by Mr. Justice McReynolds, of the United States Supreme Court. In the course of that speech he said:

> I would to God that we had seen our way three long years ago to have said that this was our war, and it is the war of all those people on earth who love freedom, and we will not slack and depend upon the protection of others, but our own forces shall be thrown into the fray, and victory may be sure.
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> There are but two things this day, my fellows, which are worth while, and, as truculent as it may sound, let me say that the first of these is killing Huns, and continuing to kill Huns until those who remain shall be impressed with the idea that they cannot stomp over the world as conquerors, and that men will not bow their heads to their demands.

Of our allies Justice McReynolds had this to say:

> They are our brothers, they are our protectors, they are our saviors, gentlemen; and if ever in the history of the future we shall fail to recognize our debt of gratitude to France and to England and to Italy and to the others who have shed their blood, we will be unworthy of the heritage which the great God of the universe has so freely given to us.

In telling of the effect of the work that Madame Jusserand has done on behalf of the children of France, he paid this tribute to her and her husband:

> The French Ambassador is superb. He has carried himself through these five years at Washington as a man above reproach, and I look on his tired face and worn eyes with never-ceasing admiration. His wife is a queen. Everywhere and allwhere, wherever she puts her foot upon the earth, she honors it.

The Justice summed up by quoting the English Ambassador's words: "You Americans have become the arbiters of the world." And he made this comment: "Not that we are doing anything, my fellows, that we ought not to be doing. Not that we are doing the tenth part of what we ought to be doing. But the force and the power and the strength of this Nation thrown into the scales is the hope of ultimate victory, and victory is the hope of the world."

ONE COMMUNITY GIVES ITS BEST

One of the most firmly established musical organizations in America is in a little town of Kansas. It is the Lindsborg Chorus. For the most part the people of Lindsborg are of Swedish blood, just as most of the people of a Maine town are likely to be of English blood, or of the Piedmont region in North Carolina of Scotch-Irish. Because of its inheritance, Lindsborg, like Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, has a musical tradition, though of course not so old. In 1882 the Chorus was organized, and for thirty-six years it has annually sung Handel's oratorio "The Messiah."

"We believe every community should give the best it has for the soldiers," said Dr. E. F. Pihlblad, President of Bethany College, at Lindsborg. "'The Messiah' is the best Lindsborg has, and we were determined that the soldiers should have it." So the Lindsborg Commercial Club underwrote a project for conveying this Chorus to Camp Funston, and five firms of Kansas City, including the "Star," together with people of Lindsborg, raised the money, and the Chorus went. In the Wichita "Beacon" Elmer T. Peterson describes that visit of the Chorus to the camp. We get the facts from his account.

When the Chorus left, this town of twenty-one hundred people had to close up its stores because a quarter of the population was in the Chorus. Mrs. Alma Swensson, who is the widow of the former President of Bethany College and who directed the Chorus when it was founded, was the only member of the original Chorus who sang at Camp Funston. Another woman in the Chorus "has two sons and two brothers in France. Half a dozen of the male singers wore khaki. At least one hundred former members of the Chorus are now in the Army or Navy." As Mr. Peterson says, this Chorus's "tribute to world freedom as given at the soldier camp was emblematic of the fact that Kansas and America are going into this war with the spirit of the Crusade. Christianity and liberty are indissolubly united. The soul of 'The Messiah' and the soul of Lincoln, Patrick Henry, and Washington are in harmony."

In his account Mr. Peterson quotes from the text of "The Messiah" passages that bore this message to the soldiers. As the Chorus sang in the big wooden structure, the Three Hundred and Fifty-third Regiment building, before thousands upon thousands of men in khaki, a sentry paced through the aisle. And this was the message the Chorus, with the soloists, sang:

> Make straight in the desert a highway for our God. . . . Why do the nations so furiously rage together, and why do the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth rise up and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord and his anointed. . . . The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord. . . . Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill made low, the crooked straight and the rough places plain. . . . And the desire of all nations shall come. . . . The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light. . . . Hallelujah! for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth.

The men to whom this message came constituted the ——— ——— Division, about to go to France. They carried with them these words, embodied in music of enduring power and beauty. As Mr. Peterson says, in this war "the issue is even greater than that of democracy against autocracy. It is right against wrong. It is for the sanctity of treaties and the honor of a million outraged women. . . . It is the fight of right against the powers of hell."

Because these men were going from that camp into such a conflict this Chorus had come to hearten them for their fight in defense of outraged humanity. When the Chorus closed with "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," it is certain that thousands of American soldiers had a clearer sense of what they were going to fight, had a more certain trust in the righteousness of their cause. As Mr. Peterson says in conclusion: "They sat up straight and from their eyes shone the spirit of the new Crusade. They were going out into the world to make straight the highway for our God."

NEGROES UNDER WAR CONDITIONS

A transport lay at the dock in an American port. The decks swarmed with men in khaki. A passenger boat passed near her, and a passenger aboard saw that these men in khaki were Negroes. "Those men are going over to fight our battles," this passenger later remarked, in describing the sight, "and I can never again think of Negroes as I used to think."

Surely the Negroes of America are earning in France a hearing such as they have not always had heretofore. What this means is indicated by the symbol of the Service Flag at Hampton Institute. On Commencement day that Service Flag had at least 263 stars, including two gold stars that symbolized those who had given their lives for their country. Of the senior class at Hampton, at least eighteen are now in the National service. Only a minority of the students at Hampton are Indians; the rest are Negroes. Such a record is one which makes it worth while to heed what a Negro youth, thoughtful and discriminating, says about his people. One of the graduating class (who received diplomas from the new principal, Mr. Gregg) is a Kentucky Negro, Walter Greene Miller, who has finished the four-year course in bricklaying and plastering. Some of his graduating address is worth quoting:

> The Negro at heart loves the South—its activities, its sunshine, its climate. He is, however, without doubt, very much dissatisfied with the treatment that he receives. His family does not receive the proper protection of the law. He does not receive justice at the bar of public opinion. There are not the proper facilities for the education of his children. Wages have also been low. Nothing has hampered the progress of the Southern Negroes more than the inability of its great body of workers to make a decent living.
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> The natural tendency of men is to move to places where conditions are the most favorable. This is just what the Negroes to a large extent have done. It has been estimated that fully five hundred thousand Negroes have recently migrated from the South to the North. This unprecedented shift of Negro labor presents to the South a perplexing labor problem. This vital problem, in turn, has caused an awakening of the white South to

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Kirby in the New York World

"WE KINGS MUST STICK TOGETHER"

THE BALLOON HAS BURST AND NOTHING CAN SAVE THEM

Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle

GRANITE

UNCLE SAM IS A ROCK OF COURAGE

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

GETTING BIGGER ALL THE TIME

UNCLE SAM'S YELLOW JACKETS ARE GOING TO STING SOMEBODY

Westerman in the Ohio State Journal

JEALOUS!

IS THERE NO LIMIT TO THE KAISER'S AMBITION?

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a realization that it is losing its best and only supply of labor. . . .

To those Negroes who have remained inducements are now made to have them stay. . . . More avenues of labor have been opened to Negroes; better treatment has been promised to Negro laborers; in many sections new school-houses are being erected for Negroes; and better working and living conditions are being provided.

Jobs are open not only to unskilled Negro laborers, but to skilled Negro workmen as well. Colored carpenters have been used in erecting buildings for the Southern cantonments. . . . In . . . and scores of . . . places Negroes are working with white workmen without the slightest friction.

Colored women in a great many cases have been satisfactorily employed. The need of Negro cooks throughout the country is greater than the supply. Cognizance of this fact has been taken officially at Rock Hill, North Carolina, where a cooking school for young colored women is being conducted. There are also movements on foot to encourage the spirit of thrift among the home-makers. Last year, for example, a large number of colored women and girls in Louisiana canned large quantities of fruits and vegetables in their individual homes. At the Government Navy-Yard near Norfolk, Virginia, two colored women have been employed to direct important community work. . .

The war has been of immense and unexpected advantage to the Northern Negroes in that it has not only doubled wages but it has more than doubled the demand for their labor. . . .

What effect will the present war conditions have on Negro wage-earners as a whole? We may safely say, I think, that the average Negro will prove worthy of the valuable opportunities which are coming to him. He will be found investing his surplus earnings in real estate. He will also seek to better his living conditions and educational facilities.

One thing that this war ought to teach us is the truth that is embodied in the facts which this colored student presents. It is that in this country we all go down or up together.

KOSSOVO DAY

Last week Americans joined others in observing the anniversary of an event that occurred before the discovery of America.

In 1389 a great battle was fought between the Turks and the Serbs. The Turks won. The day has ever since been observed by the Serbs as a day of mourning. This year Americans helped the Serbs to keep it. It has taken Americans a long time to appreciate what Serbia has meant in history, but they are now beginning to appreciate her.

Had it not been for Serbia, Turkey would have overrun Europe as far as Vienna sooner than she did. Had Serbia not been able to withstand the forces of Austria as she did, she would have been overwhelmed sooner than she was—and when she was, it took Germany and Bulgaria as well to do the work.

Serbia, militarily and economically a prosperous country during the centuries preceding the battle of the plain of Kossovo (plain of the blackbirds), so exhausted the Turks in the battle that they did not completely subdue Serbia for seventy years after.

In that battle both the Serbian King Lazar and the Turkish Sultan Murad lost their lives. The legend has it that on the eve of the battle the Serbian King dreamed that he saw great earthly possessions as a reward for letting the Turks march through his territory, and he also saw a heavenly crown as a reward for resistance. He chose the latter, and hence Kossovo Day has always had deep religious significance to the Serbs.

It was appropriate, therefore, that on Sunday of last week a service was held in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, of New York City, in which the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, Serbian, and Russian Churches took part. In his sermon Dr. Robbins, Dean of the Cathedral, said:

> Kossovo Day voices the cry of a race that more than five hundred years ago suffered martyrdom for freedom. Like Israel, Serbia stood in the way of a great and ruthless conqueror, seeking world dominion, and faced him in the name of freedom and faith.
>
> But Israel proved, and Serbia also proves, that there is something in the world stronger than brute force. It is that indestructible thing, the spirit of a nation that remembers. At Kossovo Serbia stood in the face of the Turks, between the Turk and Europe. She fell, but the Turk suffered so heavily that Europe had a breathing space and time to prepare. What Belgium did in the first month of the present war Serbia did on the field of Kossovo.

The following day, at a celebration at the Waldorf Astoria, Serbia was picturesquely to the fore by reason of many Serbian khaki uniforms, with feathered skull-caps and with coats thrown back from the shoulder so as to display the scarlet shirt. Among other distinguished speakers was the Serbian Minister, Dr. Ljubomir Michaelovitch, who asserted:

> The battle of Kossovo taught us the value of liberty and honor above everything else. . . . Our people have again sacrificed all that a nation can sacrifice, but have saved their honor.

The Minister added: "The liberty and union of the Polish, Czechoslovak, and Jugoslav nations is the surest guaranty of world peace and check to Pan-Germany." It is not only the Serbs of Serbia who are interested in Kossovo Day. The Serbians, about five millions in the Kingdom of Serbia, are but a part of the Jugoslav race, which also includes the Croats and Slovenes from Austria-Hungary. The three fractions, together with the Serbs in Bosnia and elsewhere, number about thirteen millions. They stand not only for national independence but also for united endeavor with the Poles and the Czechoslovaks.

Among all the Slavs, however, it will always be Serbia that will have peculiar prominence. This is not only because her geographical position barred the way to the Turks in their attempt to overwhelm Europe and Christendom, and then to the Pan-Germans in their attempt to extend Greater Germany southward. It is, in the ultimate analysis, because of the spirit of a people that has known how, year by year, to keep Kossovo Day, a day of mourning, as a day of honor.

PRESIDENT WILSON TO THE MEXICAN EDITORS

President Wilson's address to ninety or more visiting Mexican editors is an important war utterance. It is a message emphasizing our country's disinterestedness in the war.

In the course of the address the President said:

> One of the difficulties that I experienced during the first three years of the war, when the United States was not in the war, was in getting the Foreign Offices of European nations to believe that the United States was seeking nothing for herself, that her neutrality was not selfish, and that, if she came in, she would not come in to get anything substantial out of the war, any material object, any territory or trade, or anything else of that sort. . . . Now I believe that everybody who comes in contact with the American people knows that I am speaking their purposes.

Mr. Wilson's idea of political union of the Americas is as follows:

> Let us have a common guaranty that all of us will sign a declaration of political independence and territorial integrity. Let us agree that if any of us, the United States included, violates the political independence or territorial integrity of any of the others, all the others will jump on her.

The comment of the Latin-American papers is sympathetic. "La Nacion," the official organ of the Chilean Government, says that the United States Government, desiring to form a *bloc* with the South American nations so as to move in concert with them, "will make of all America a great political force and a commercial power." The same idea is echoed by other journals. As to Mr. Wilson personally, Señor Carpio, editor of "La Voz," of Yucatan, as quoted by the New York "Times," declared that "President Wilson is now our man." The "Times" also quotes Señor Pena, editor of the "Universal Ilustrado," of Mexico City, who protested that German propaganda was not as extensive in Mexico as it was made out to be. That it is extensive, however, would seem to be affirmed by the snappish comment from German papers.

English comment upon Mr. Wilson's speech is very favorable. The London "Times," comparing it with the recent statement of Herr von Payer, the German Vice-Chancellor, says: "No contrast could be stronger. The President talks of liberty, justice, and law. The Vice-Chancellor looks forward to a world in which the armies of Germany and Austria-Hungary will still impose their orders on a submissive Europe." The "Daily News" affirms that the President has now revealed himself as the "architect of the world's future." It eulogizes American

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disinterestedness in the war, which, it affirms, is testified to, not by words, but by acts. The "Daily Graphic" declares that upon such altruism alone can an enduring peace be founded. Reiterating this, in substance, the "Westminster Gazette" adds:

> To that end we must develop all the powers of the modern world, economic as well as military, against the aggressor, however remote he may be from our own sphere of interest or influence.

The special feature of President Wilson's address was his assertion that he intended to stand by Russia. He described Russia as "the most remote of the European nations so far as we are concerned, the one with which we have the least connections in trade and advantage—and yet the people of the United States rose to that suggestion as to no other that I made in that address. That is the heart of America, and we are ready to show you by any act of friendship you may propose our real feelings towards Mexico." The London "Daily News" mentions American loyalty to the cause of Russia as one of the redeeming episodes of the war. It urges other countries which have been "less faithful and less wise to recognize the sagacity as well as the justice of Mr. Wilson's policy in making the redemption of Russia a fixed and unalterable purpose of the war." This will be of special interest to Mr. A. I. Konovalov, Russian Minister of Trade and Industries under the Kerensky Government, who has now arrived at Washington to discuss with State Department officials the question of Allied intervention in Russia.

LANDS AND THE SOLDIER

At the conclusion of the present war thousands of returning soldiers will wish to continue life in the open. Then the United States should be able to say to its returning soldiers: "If you wish to go upon a farm, here are a variety of farms of which you may take your pick."

This is what the Nation said to the soldiers who returned from the Civil War. It opened the public domain to them. In fact, the Homestead Law, signed by Lincoln in the second year of the war, made it possible for a million veterans to obtain farms.

The difference between the period at the close of the Civil War and the present period is that then we had a great deal of good agricultural land on the public domain which we could give away, while at present we have no good agricultural land on the public domain, and of that which is susceptible of becoming good we could, in justice to ourselves, hardly give any away. We have on our mainland some 230,000,000 acres of unappropriated lands. Not half of this amount, it is believed, can be made cultivable. But the rest can be made available for the home-coming soldiers—some of our arid lands in the West, some of our cut-over lands in the Northwest, and some of our swamp lands in the Middle West and South. The arid lands need water, the cut-over lands need clearing, and the swamp lands need drainage.

A plan by which land is developed in large areas, subdivided into individual farms, and then sold to actual bona-fide farmers on a long-time payment basis (say thirty to forty years) has been in force not only in the United States under the Reclamation Act, but also in many other countries for several years. It has proved a distinct success. Indeed, in Denmark, Ireland, Australia, and in New Zealand it has completely changed the land situation. A feature of this plan is that holders are aided in improving and cultivating the farms; they have thus built better houses, brought a larger acreage of land under cultivation, kept better live stock, and bought more labor-saving machinery.

To establish such a plan in this country we must know, as Secretary Lane says in a letter to the President, not merely how much arid land can be irrigated, or how much swamp land reclaimed, or how much cut-over land can be cleared, but we should also definitely know just where it is practicable to begin new irrigation projects, just what particular areas of swamp land can be reclaimed, just the specific areas of grazing land and the cattle adapted to them, and just what it would cost to pull or blow out stumps on certain areas of cut-over land. Therefore Mr. Lane calls attention to "the wisdom of immediately supplying the Interior Department with a sufficient fund with which to make the necessary surveys."

We must have such a programme, Mr. Lane believes, so that at the close of the war we shall not be submerged industrially or otherwise by labor which we would not be able to absorb. We must also, as he adds, show respect for those who return as heroes, by enabling them to acquire means of immediate self-support.

EAT LESS MEAT

We have reached a position with regard to the consumption of meat in this country which requires a reconsideration of policy. The necessities for shipment abroad to our Army and allies amount every week at present to some 75,000,000 pounds of meat and meat products of all kinds. Before the war our export was less than 15,000,000 pounds. Even with these large shipments our Allies have found it necessary to reduce consumption of all kinds of meats and poultry to an average of one and one-quarter pounds per week per person, so that no further draught might be made upon the shipping now required for the transport of our soldiers to France.

Our consumption of meat in this country amounts to about three and one-quarter pounds per week per person.

If we are to make both ends balance, we must have more economy. Not only should the public continue rigorously to eliminate waste; it should economize by further reducing the quantity prepared for each meal of all kinds of meat and poultry, more particularly beef. If purchases are properly restricted, the Federal Food Administration hopes that the necessary balance can be maintained. In this way meatless days in the household, with their attendant inconvenience and interference in the daily preparation of food, may perhaps be avoided.

Fortunately there is now an abundance of milk products which, as the Food Administration recommends, can well be substituted in various forms. Moreover, the shortage of fish during the past several months, due to the necessity of naval requisition of trawlers, and also due to the enlistment of fishermen in the Navy, should very soon be relieved. Again, we have a large enough supply of pork to permit economical expansion in its use. The Food Administration especially emphasizes reduction of beef by the substitution of pork.

The New York State Food Board has already taken action. In particular, on January 17, it limited the service of beef and beef products in hotels, restaurants, and other public eating-places to four meals a week. It ruled that proprietors of these establishments should not place on their bills of fare or serve boiled beef more than two meals weekly, and roast beef or beefsteak each more than one meal weekly. Pork, bacon, ham, and sausage should be served as substitutes.

Householders are asked not to buy more than one and one-quarter pounds of clear beef weekly, or one and one-half pounds including the bone, per person in the household.

The co-operation of the public, we are convinced, will be even more readily obtained in the case of meat than in the case of wheat.

ENCOURAGE THE ANTI-GERMAN SLAVS

The United States Government apparently purposes definite support of the objects of the Czechoslavs and Jugoslavs of Austria-Hungary. These Slav groups, comprising a large proportion of the inhabitants of the Dual Monarchy, are seeking an opportunity to overthrow the Hapsburg rule in favor of democratic forms of government. They are doing what they can to supplement the efforts of the Allies against Germany, realizing that the success of Pan-Germanism is likely to spell extinction of their nationalistic aims. Early in April a Congress of representatives of the oppressed peoples of Austria-Hungary was held in Rome. The agreement which was reached marked a change in the foreign policy of Italy and a definite adhesion of the various oppressed peoples of Austria-Hungary to a plan of co-operation. On May 29 Secretary Lansing, of the Department of State, announced that "the proceedings of the Congress of Oppressed Races of Austria-Hungary, which was held in Rome in April, have been followed with great interest by the Government of the United States," and that "the nationalistic

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aspirations of the Czechoslovaks and the Jugoslavs for freedom have the earnest sympathy of this Government."

This is an abandonment of the policy based upon President Wilson's earlier statement that this country did not wish to interfere with the internal affairs of Austria-Hungary, and a step, doubtless, intended to encourage the rising of the Slavs of the Dual Monarchy to the support of the Allies. Should the plan contemplated by the Congress at Rome become a fact, it would mean a chain of nations extending from the Baltic to the Adriatic democratic in their form of government and antagonistic to Pan-Germanism. Its success would doom that Teutonic project. That Secretary Lansing's sympathetic announcement is timely is evident from the reports of unrest in Bohemia and in South Austria and of the plans of the Central allies to nip in the bud any uprising.

In the resolutions adopted at the Roman Congress the oppressed races of Austria, through their representatives, affirmed the right to political and economic independence, recognized formally that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was the instrument of German domination and the fundamental obstacle to the realization of their aspirations and rights, and the necessity of a common struggle against the common oppressors. The Italians and the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes recognized the vital interests of each involved in the national unity of the other, declared that the defense of the Adriatic was a vital common interest, and pledged themselves to solve amicably the various territorial controversies on the basis of the rights of racial groups which might find themselves within the boundaries of the other through necessity to their language, culture, and moral and economic interests. The Poles expressed their sympathy with the views of the other races represented. It is reported that another congress will soon be held in Paris for the purpose of continuing the work of the Roman Congress.

This movement uniting the Slavs of Austria-Hungary is of great consequence to us in America. We have many Austrians in the United States who are technically alien enemies, but are really our allies. These Slavs (Jugoslavs and Czechoslavs) are heirs to generations of oppression; but they have also inherited the fiery spirit of their ancestors. We ought to make it possible for them to fight by our side; and, furthermore, we ought to take advantage of their presence here to facilitate the spread of the propaganda of democracy among their brothers and cousins and kinsfolk who are still enduring the hardships of Hapsburg tyranny within the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

THE THREE FRONTS

WHERE the enemy is, there is the front.

At the present time the struggle with the enemy is critical on three fronts. One of these fronts extends from the English Channel to the Adriatic. Another lies in what we once called Russia. The third lies within the borders of the Central Powers.

In order to defeat the enemy we of the Alliance of Liberty must break his power on each of these three fronts.

On the western front his power is military.

On the Russian front his power is economic.

On the interior front his power is political.

Where his power is military our problem is simplest. It will be solved when we secure there a strong predominance of fighting men, well supplied and effectively maneuvered. Though the simplest, it is not necessarily the easiest of our problems. It is that which is going to call for sacrifice which, fortunately, we cannot realize in advance. It is that which calls for millions of our men, thousands of our women. It is that which is teaching us the power of sacrifice. It is that which, as we work over our airplanes, as we build our ordnance, as we send across transport after transport, calls for haste.

Where the enemy's power is economic there our problem is more complicated. Germany, practically unopposed on the east, is reaching out to grasp and keep in her control the unmeasured resources of what was once the Russian Empire. If we defeat Germany on the western front and leave her undefeated here, we shall not have won the victory for liberty. There are some who believe that we cannot induce her to loose her hold on these eastern resources except by such an overwhelming defeat on the western front that she will be ready to yield all. That means that we must not only beat Germany, but Germany plus Russian resources. The part of wisdom is to do all possible to shut off her access to those resources and to make of that eastern front not, as now, a source of strength to Germany, but a source of strength against her. The problem there is to reconstitute that front as a military front. If that is done, she will not only be cut off from Russia's resources, but will herself have to divert to the east the man power and munitions that she now can use on the west. This problem, like the other, calls for haste. If we are to do this at all, we must do it before Germany gains throughout Russia the control she has already gained in Finland.

Where the enemy's power is political there our problem is the most complicated, though not necessarily the greatest of all. In Austria-Hungary, in the parts of the Balkans which Germany controls, and in Austrian, Russian, and Prussian Poland there are peoples who, though long oppressed, have not allowed themselves to be suppressed. These, the Poles, the Czechoslavs, and the Jugoslavs, still retain their fiery spirit and their love of freedom. These peoples are our natural allies. And they have a strategic position within the borders of the Central Empire. Germany has boasted of the power she can exert through the Germans living among the Allies. She counted on their remaining bound by the old ties. She failed to understand that there are no ties that can withstand the expanding power of the love of freedom. And we have made the corresponding mistake. We have failed to remember these oppressed races who have kept this love of freedom in their hearts for generations, and who have found in oppression that which makes the love of freedom only fiercer. It is these who are in contact with the enemy on the interior front. And they are not isolated and separated from us. On the contrary, their brothers and cousins and kinsfolk who speak the same languages and who have the same love of liberty, as fierce as theirs but nourished and made strong by their life in a land of freedom, are our neighbors here in America. We have been treating them as enemy aliens, when, as a matter of fact, though aliens, they are friends. We do not need to spread a propaganda of argument and persuasion among the oppressed kinsfolk of these neighbors of ours, for they are persuaded already. What they need is a propaganda of hope, of courage, of self-confidence, the infusion of a new spirit. Can anything impart this new spirit to them like the knowledge that their kin over here are in our Army or are fighting in legions in the armies of our allies?

The western front is a military front, and the problem is plainly military. The Russian front is now an economic front, but victory there depends upon making it military. The interior front is a political front, but our victory there can be most easily won by measures that are essentially military.

The economic and political fronts as well as the military call for military action.

WHAT SHOULD WE LOOK FOR IN A CANDIDATE FOR CONGRESS?

Vote for the Congressman in your district whose supreme purpose in all he does and says will be to win the war. Whether he be Democrat or Republican, prohibitionist or anti-prohibitionist, for woman suffrage or against woman suffrage, is of small consequence. There is but one issue this summer: Win the war.

Measure candidates by their deeds, not their words. Of two candidates, if one was for universal service before we entered the war, and the other is a late convert, the presumption is for the first. He who went for preparedness against the tide is to be preferred to him who goes with the tide for performance.

Beware of the chronic fault-finder, the constitutional critic, the man who proves his efficiency, not by doing something, but by finding fault with everything that other men are doing, who glorifies himself by belittling his fellows.

Beware of the chronic eulogist, the man who thinks criticism is disloyalty, the man whose only motive is, Get behind the

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President. Faithful are the wounds of a friend. The President's best friends are the men who give a whole-hearted support to the war policy, but do not hesitate to point out errors and shortcomings in particular policies or methods.

The American Government is not a comet, with the President for its head and Congress for its tail. Congress has its duty not less than has the President. Send to Congress a man who has the vision to see his duty and the courage to do it. This is no time to convert the American Congress into a German Reichstag, a mere debating society, a "Hall of Records." There are too many men of the "Ditto to Mr. Burke" order in Congress. Do not add to their number. Elect a man independent enough to have an opinion of his own; enough of a mixer to work for a common end with men of a different opinion.

Do not elect a pessimist who is sure that the Germans can never be defeated, that the most to be hoped for is a stalemate. Despair never yet won a victory.

Do not elect an optimist who thinks a German victory is impossible, that we need not worry. Serenity never won a victory.

We can win if we have the will to win; we cannot win without the will to win. Elect courage, not cowardice; hope, not despair; resolution, not vacillation; a discriminating doer of deeds, not a blind follower of a leader.

A POOR WAY TO KEEP THE HOME FIRES BURNING

It would seem that one of the best possible ways to keep the soldier abroad in touch with his home and country would be to encourage and facilitate his reading of home newspapers and magazines. Much stress has rightly been laid on the fostering of close relations between American soldiers abroad and American families at home. The Government, in many utterances, has dwelt with feeling and insistence on this point. We all agree that the soldier should have his letters from home and his news from home quickly and continuously. Yet there has been almost a scandal about the delay in soldiers' letters, and now comes a proposal which puts a fine on the transmission of reading matter.

Under the not entirely beneficent Postal Zone Law now going into effect the Post Office Department proposes to charge the highest rate of postage possible on newspapers and magazines going to the soldiers. It may be that technically the wording of the law justifies this; if so, haste should be made to alter the law. If it is not positively obligatory upon the Department to make this ruling, the decision is not only deplorable but unpatriotic. If the law is capable of interpretation as to this point, it surely ought to be in the direction of making it as little costly as possible to give the soldier tidings of home and friends and what is going on in America.

Just what does this eighth zone ruling mean? It means that it will cost as much to send a copy of a newspaper or magazine from New York to the soldier in France as it will cost to send it to California. This, in turn, means that, instead of paying, as heretofore, at the rate of one cent per pound for the complete magazine, the publishers may pay one and a quarter cents per pound for reading matter and three and a quarter cents per pound for advertising pages during the year from July 1, 1918, to July 1, 1919. This would, so far as we can figure out this complicated system of paying postage, mean that for the first year of the operation of the law the cost of sending papers to the soldiers will be double what it has been, and that by the end of the third year (the rates increase as time goes on) the cost will be four and a half times the present rate.

It may be argued that, as this cost will fall on the publisher, no one need care. Probably it will fall on the publisher, at least for the present. Ultimately publishers generally will have to increase the price of their product to get what is necessary to meet the increased cost, or will have to go out of business. In any case, the effect will certainly be to discourage efforts to get papers and magazines to the soldiers. This will be seen at once when it is remembered that many periodicals, The Outlook among others, have tried to make it easy and inexpensive for soldiers to see their home papers. Special terms, and terms under which there is little or no profit to the publishers, have been widely offered. This has been done, we sincerely believe, in an honest spirit, through a real wish to do something of service for the soldier and his friends; not merely through a desire to make money. Many tens of thousands of subscriptions to periodicals have been made under these special offers. To take The Outlook's experience simply as an illustration, we have over two thousand subscribers on our list resulting from this offer; many of the subscriptions come directly from soldiers and officers; a much larger number come from relatives and friends in this country who order the papers to be mailed to soldiers. Multiply this one example by the number of periodicals which are doing the same thing, and the weight of this penalty for trying to give the soldiers something to read from home may be judged. When it is remembered also that, as we are informed, most of this second-class mail goes over on Government vessels, with little or no extra cost for the carrying, the essential injustice of the rule is even more evident.

We are very greatly mistaken if, when the matter is fully understood, either the Post Office Department or Congress does not find it wise and right to remedy this injustice.

LYNCHING A NATIONAL OFFENSE

When a barbarous and cruel case of lynching occurs in this country, whether it be in a remote mountain region of the South or in a great and populous Northern State, the people in distant lands who read the accounts, which are sure to be cabled abroad, make no distinction as to locality. In each and every case it is the United States which bears the disgrace, and to foreign comprehension at least it is the United States which should make lynching impossible or punish it.

An attempt to remedy this has been made by the introduction into Congress of a bill which has the expressive title, "To protect citizens of the United States against lynching in default of protection by the State." If this bill becomes law, the very fact that a citizen is put to death by a mob and in violation of law and without protection by the officers of the State is to be evidence of a denial of protection by the State and to constitute an offense against the United States. If the bill becomes law, it will make lynchers subject to prosecution in the United States courts; if convicted, they may suffer capital punishment. Furthermore, the county, the State, or the municipal officer may be subjected to fine and forfeiture, and, in the case of an individual, to imprisonment, if it appears that the man lynched has not been properly protected, or if lynchers have not been prosecuted, or if the officer has allowed a prisoner to be taken away from him by lynchers. The county, in particular, is obliged to pay from $5,000 to $10,000 for the use of the dependent family of a citizen so lynched, or to the United States if he has no family.

Beyond question the sentiment of intelligent and influential people even in the remoter parts of the country against lynching is constantly growing stronger. We have called the attention of our readers to the earnest resolutions recently passed by the Tennessee State Conference of Charities and Correction. These resolutions ask the President of the United States to issue a special Proclamation on the subject, and they also ask Congress to pass National legislation to give Federal courts power to act.

A correspondent of The Outlook urges it, "as a friend of the Southern people," to indorse the bill above outlined; the bill, by the way, was introduced by Mr. Dyer, a Representative from the East St. Louis district. It is both as a friend of the South and as a friend of the North that The Outlook urges that the disgrace of lynching be removed from the country's record. If National action can be taken under the Constitution, and if this is the best way of dealing with the subject, well and good; if not, then local sentiment and local love for justice must provide firm and efficient measures of suppression and punishment. As a matter of fact, the rage of the mob is rarely the purpose of the people; mob action can be foreseen and prevented if the wise and sensible part of the community will only see their duty and accept their responsibility.

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A FRENCH WELCOME TO AMERICAN TROOPS

Do we realize how the hopes and fears of France center on this country of ours?

America must see this war through to victory if only to justify the faith of our allies, our loyal friends, the French. To fail them would be to show infidelity of which it is intolerable even to think. We must not fail them.

Every American, whether he needs to have his faith in ultimate victory renewed or not, should read the following.

It is a copy of one of the circulars sent out by the French Government through all the districts that are to be occupied by our troops. Another circular we printed in The Outlook for April 17. Like that one, this is designed to prepare the peasants and people of the small villages for the coming of the Americans in khaki. Fifty thousand of these circulars were distributed, and the text was printed in all the local papers. It shows the spirit in which our men were met and the real difficulty and effort it cost the people with whom they were quartered; but it also shows how much France expects of America.

The author is M. Bouglé, who is a professor at the Sorbonne. It has been sent to us by Miss Frances Hoppin, an American doing relief work in France.—THE EDITORS.

THE AMERICANS IN FRANCE

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF THE REGIONS IN WHICH OUR NEW ALLIES ARE TO LIVE

FROM THE COMMITTEE OF THE "EFFORT OF FRANCE AND HER ALLIES"

IT seems that it is with you that our new allies, the soldiers sent by the United States, are to be quartered. This is a great honor for your province—to be their host in the name of France. We are sure that you will be equal to the delicate task which the nation has confided to you and will show our new guests that hospitality which is one of the best traditions of our race.

An enormous granary, a colossal workshop, an inexhaustible bank, you know what material power the United States represents. Their fields produce twenty per cent of the grain which grows on the surface of the world, thirty-two per cent of the oats, and seventy-five per cent of the corn. Their soil furnishes in oil thirty-six per cent of the production of the world, forty-one per cent of the iron, and sixty-two per cent of the petroleum. Their factories use this material with a methodical precision and rapidity which astonishes the slower European. Their automobile factories can "turn out" one thousand motors a day. They have also the necessary capital to start and run these enterprises, for their wealth, which was estimated in 1870 as $30,000,000,000, now exceeds $150,000,000,000.

In every sense the United States is the richest nation in the world. Up to the present time she has been helping us with all this accumulated wealth. She has thrown with both hands into our side of the great balance her wheat and iron and gold, and this has meant, in a great modern war like this one, which is waged by material and money as well as by men, an invaluable support. If the United States had given us no help but this, she would still have deserved our eternal gratitude. But the Americans were not content merely to supply and lend, however useful that might be. Once their Government had declared war, they claimed their share, not only of privation, but also of danger. They were not willing, in the beautiful words of their President, to leave to us "the privilege of sacrifice." They held it a point of honor to give themselves, to let us see, on our soil torn with shells, the color of their blood.

And this is why, hurrying across the treacherous sea, their first regiments have landed in our ports, why they will be quartered in our villages to complete their training before taking their turn in the furnace. It is with you that they will spend their last night of watch and prayer beside their arms, before the battle.

You will see them, these good-looking boys in khaki, come from so far—New York, or Chicago, or Illinois, or Massachusetts. You will watch them change their cowboy hats for our gray trench helmets. Under your eyes some of our most experienced soldiers, practiced in all the tricks of this terrible modern warfare, will teach them to throw grenades, to advance, to go "over the top" under fire. There will be, at your doors, a daily rehearsal of the great tragic scene. You will see these sons of free America—the country that desired peace but has now willingly accepted that load of conscription which she had never borne before—accomplish, with the same methodical eagerness that they give to sport, their training for the final match from which so many of them will never return.

Ah, as your imagination shows you the place they come from and the place to which they are going, these allies from afar, now so near to your heart, with what kindness you will wish to surround them! How glad you will be to welcome into your homes in their hours of rest these boys whose mothers are weeping for them on the other side of the sea. You will remember that they also are helping to defend those homes, and that in coming to fight for the liberty of the world they insure your own province against those horrors of invasion which so many others have experienced.

Keep all these things in your minds and it will seem easy to you to bear the expense and annoyance and inconvenience which the quartering of an army brings to civilians. You say that the cost of living will increase, that eggs and butter and chickens will be harder than ever to get or to pay for. The American Government has done all that it could to avoid this danger. It has sent after the ship-loads of men ship-loads of provisions. It does not mean that our impoverished land should have to feed its Army. But, in spite of all these precautions, it is clear that the American soldiers cannot expect that all that they eat will come from America. Of course they will want to add French supplements to their regular rations. They will pay well, and that will raise the prices. This is sure to happen; but, after all, the money which the American soldiers bring us is not lost.

The farmer's wife will not be sorry to swell her stocking by selling her butter and eggs at high prices to these excellent customers, and the old owner of the vineyard will not scorn to let them buy for a good sum his last bottles of wine hidden behind the fagots. Just so much money will come into the country and help to support it, even while it raises the cost of food.

And, besides all this, if you are forced by the presence of another army in the country to pay more for your daily living, it will perhaps be consolation enough if you realize clearly what you buy with this extra charge.

You have already seen in many villages soldiers of the older classes sent back to reap and store the harvest of wheat and grapes. This is a great happiness to their families, and also a source of riches for the country which comes back to life through their labor. Do you think that we could have had the unexpected joy of their return if the Government had not been able to count already upon the reinforcements of the American regiments?

And there is still something more to remember. The American troops, who are coming in ever greater numbers to add their strength to the active fighting force of our army, give to us the certainty that, whatever may happen, our reserves are inexhaustible, while those of our enemies are growing less. So that what you buy by paying more for your butter and eggs, your bread and your wine, is, if you weigh the matter closely, the certainty of victory.

Who will dare to say that the price is too high?

C. BOUGLÉ.

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"THE FARMER'S SAD LOT"

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

IN The Outlook of April 3 three writers—a woman farmer from New Jersey, a gentleman farmer from Maine, and an agricultural or irrigation engineer from California—spend nearly ten thousand words in depicting the sad condition of the farmer. If the Kaiser should see these three articles, his heart would be made glad by the impression and belief they convey that the farmers of the United States have lost heart; that they object to the Government price of wheat, sugar, coal, etc.; that they are not making money, and are not trying or wanting to do their full share to win the war. To that extent these three articles will unintentionally aid the Germans.

What I wish now, however, to insist upon is that these three articles misrepresent the condition and the attitude of the farmers of the great Middle West, who produce more than three-quarters of the Nation's food supply; and I confine myself chiefly to two assertions of the Maine farmer, Mr. J. L. Dean: (1) On page 533 of The Outlook he supposes a case, takes it as his major premise, conducts an argument, and proves to his own satisfaction that the farmer and his two sons get for their work only 5.09 cents each per hour, or just a little less, all three together, than their hired man got. (2) He gives on the same page the New York Department of Foods and Markets as his authority for the statement that out "of the average dollar paid by the ultimate consumer [for farm food products] the farmer receives thirty-five cents and the distribution system sixty-five cents." No wonder Mr. Dean calls that system "extravagant, wasteful, and inefficient."

To offset Mr. Dean's supposed case as to wages and his quoted "authority" as to what part the farmer gets of the ultimate consumer's dollar, I give a few actual facts concerning three of my near-by farmer friends. I vouch for all the facts given and assert that these three men are typical of the upper half of the farm-owning farmers of the great Middle West.

My neighbor George E. Selden sold last year (1917), by his actual book account, for cash, omitting the cents, as follows: Wheat, $1,722; potatoes, $1,940; heifers (besides those kept to replenish dairy), $230; milk (15 cows), $1,615; eggs, poultry, etc., $222; total, $5,729.

Expenses: Seed and fertilizers, $312; hired help, including threshing, etc., and board of men, $472; mill feed, besides grain raised on the farm, $280; rent of five acres, $30; blacksmithing, harness repairs, etc., $50; taxes and interest on investment, $380; total, $1,524. Net income above receipts, $4,205. This represents the earnings of Mr. and Mrs. Selden (as they have no children) over and above free rent of home, garden, fruit, use of horses, carriage, and many uncounted food supplies, and above annual increase in selling value of farm. Assuming that both work ten hours every day, including Sundays, which is above the facts, each of the two receive 58 cents per hour. How does that compare with Mr. Dean's 5.09 cents per hour each, for his supposed farmer and his two sons, with nothing for the wife and mother? It is more than ten times as much.

Another case: Mr. Selden's nearest farmer neighbor is Mr. O. D. Bradley. This year in March he made and sold maple syrup and maple "cream" (a delicious confection) from his sugar camp of some 800 trees, occupying about ten acres of land, $957.80, all cash, to final consumers, of which he got the whole dollar each time, except cost of cans for syrup and freight where shipped—less than ten cents on the average for each dollar of the $957.80. What about Mr. Dean's 65 cents out of each dollar going to "our extravagant, wasteful, and inefficient system of distribution"? This syrup and "cream" were made and sold by Mr. and Mrs. Bradley with the help of one hired man and one son and daughter, both in school. The hired man gets $50 per month and house rent and certain food perquisites. Mr. and Mrs. Bradley together get $900 per month and house rent and more food perquisites free than the man gets. Does Mr. Bradley want to swap wages with his hired man? Meantime the March receipts from the dairy came in as usual, and the strawberries and winter wheat were growing for $1,500 or so besides, in their time. On these and on the potatoes he grows he will get, on the average, more than 80 cents out of each one of the ultimate consumer's dollars. Some twenty-five years ago Mr. Bradley owned practically nothing. Now he owns two good farms adjoining each other and worked as one, with a total of 177½ acres, and a net annual income of about $3,000.

Another instance: Some thirty years ago my neighbor Mr. F. F. Barlow was a farm hand with scarcely a dollar to his name, and with simply a "district school" education. To-day he owns a fine farm of 237 acres, which, with its buildings, live stock, and equipments, and with other property, stocks, and bonds owned by him, is probably worth fully $35,000. Nearly all of this was earned by "straight farming," producing and selling milk, wheat, potatoes, and other farm products, and by wise economy and sagacious investment. Meantime he has given a son and a daughter each a four years' course at the Ohio State University, the son in agriculture, the daughter in domestic science and home economics. I do not think he could have done all this on Mr. Dean's 5.09 cents per hour for his work.

These three men, whose names and addresses I have given for identification and proof, I assert are typical of the better half of the intelligent, energetic, farm-owning farmers of the Middle West. I personally know scores like them within ten miles of my home, and I know of hundreds and even thousands like them all over the great Middle West, where I have lectured before hundreds of thousands of them. I do not think they could have done as well, on the average, socially, educationally, and financially, with the same education and sagacity, in the city. They are not complaining of their lot, nor kicking at the Government price of wheat or other things, nor asking to swap wages with their hired men. Such men are not war slackers, nor are they leaving their farms except for old age, physical infirmity, or financial ability to retire from actual work. And when they sell their farms they get all the way from $50 to $200 per acre, according to fertility, buildings, roads, schools, and social and market advantages. Such prices for good farms would not prevail, as they do all over the great fertile corn, wheat, and fruit belt of the Middle West, if farming had not paid, on the average, for the last sixty years, or if it were not paying better now than under normal prices for farm products.

Next, what about the 35 and 65 cents of the ultimate consumer's dollar? Most of the facts already given bear upon this point. Where the farmer produces the final product in packages ready for family use, like cans of maple syrup, pound "bricks" or small crocks of best butter, sweet corn on the ear, potatoes, parsnips, beets, etc., by the bushel or peck, berries by the quart or crate, and sells to the final consumer, he gets the whole dollar, less freight, etc., if any. If these things go through a commission house, the latter gets a small percentage as commission. If through a retail grocer also, with distant delivery of quarts and pounds, and with credit and the cost of bookkeeping, collecting, and of bad debts, of course the cost to the consumer is greatly increased. And if the farmer's raw material requires intermediate manufacture, as of smoked breakfast bacon, sliced, of flour from wheat, of toasted corn flakes from corn, or of bread, crackers, cake, etc., from flour all ready to be eaten, then this very costly intermediate manufacture demands proper pay for the labor involved, and deserves it just as truly as the farmer deserves pay for the labor involved in producing the raw material—wheat, corn, hogs, etc. And the vital thing is this: that this costly labor involved in such intermediate manufacture is legitimate, is a thing of itself, and should never be confused with or charged against "our extravagant, wasteful, and inefficient system of distribution." It is not a part of distribution, in any sense. If consumers demand that their foods be ready for the table when bought, and be delivered in small amounts all over a great city, and on a credit basis, then they must pay for all that these various things cost—that is, they must pay for their own laziness and lack of good business judgment. Some such confusion of costly intermediate manufacture with the "system of distribution" is the only possible way to explain the statement that the farmer gets only 35 cents of the final consumer's dollar, and the "system of distribution" gets 65 cents.

The speediest remedy for "our extravagant, wasteful, and

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inefficient system of distribution" seems to me to lie, not in the methods suggested in The Outlook of April 3, for they require too extensive combination and too much State or National legislation, but simply in the gradual increase of what are sometimes known as "Cash-and-Carry" stores, especially grocery stores. I think the credit and delivery stores, though a sort of convenience, especially in the case of food products, are financially a curse in our system of distribution.

The following is a specific example of the "Cash-and-Carry" plan: A few years ago an enterprising citizen of Akron, Ohio, our county seat, a city of about one hundred and thirty thousand people, began to establish a chain of "Cash-and-Carry" grocery stores in various convenient parts of that city and of smaller cities and villages near by. He now has forty such stores, with total cash sales of about four million dollars per year. He buys always for cash by car-load, sometimes train-load, often the entire season's output of one or more creameries, cheese factories, flouring mills, etc., or the entire crops of potatoes from local farmers; he distributes to his various stores from the trains or mills or creameries by large motor trucks, has a good manager and needed clerks at each local store, cash sales to all, delivery to none, no personal bookkeeping (always expensive), no bad debts, daily reports to headquarters of all sales totals from the forty stores, frequent inventories, and absolute knowledge of profits. He finds that he can sell at about fifteen per cent above cash wholesale cost, which is exceedingly low because of his immense cash purchases, and this fifteen per cent is all that comes between the farmer or the intermediate manufacturer and the ultimate consumer. Such "Cash-and-Carry" stores are sure to come. Producers and consumers can and should quietly speed their coming.

I declare that the intelligent, energetic, farm-owning farmers of the great Middle West have, on the whole, been reasonably prosperous for more than sixty years, except during hard-times panics, and that they were never more prosperous than during our Civil War and thus far in this war with their very high prices of farm products. This last fact is chiefly because farmers sell far more dollars' worth of the products of their own labor than they buy and consume of the products of others' labors—far more, too, than under normal prices. Hence the surplus is much larger in dollars, and each dollar of that surplus will pay as much of debts and taxes and many other things as each dollar would pay under low prices and smaller surplus. I need not argue this point.

The greatest trouble just now lies in the shortage of hired help. This is being met increasingly by the use of machinery run by horse or gasoline or coal power. For example, the suction milking machine run by gasoline will do the work of four men. The twine-binder, side-delivery rake, hay-loader, horse fork, steam thresher, and ensilage cutter, etc., together do the work of scores of men. And, latest, the farm tractor run by oil or gasoline.

In conclusion, let me say: We find that we can produce more war food and make more honest money if we are optimistic and do our best than if we are pessimistic and dilatory and constantly recount and magnify our difficulties and hardships. The farmers of the great Middle West have no soft job or bonanza. They work hard, make long days, and earn all that they receive, and are not profiteering or combining to boost prices unduly; but they are not whimpering, or asking sympathy or special favoritism in State or National legislation; and the Kaiser should understand that they are doing and will continue to do their full share to win the war for freedom and for righteousness.

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IN THE WAR-SWEPT MARNE COUNTRY

BY ELIZA R. SCIDMORE

AMERICAN history is fast being made across the water, and Château Thierry and Cantigny are now as much household words as Santiago or Vera Cruz.

Château Thierry, fifty miles east of Paris by railway or motor road, is the first large town on the Marne after Meaux. Motorists must remember the aisles of lofty trees along the avenues of the new part of the town south of the Marne and the imposing modern *Mairie*. A certain homely but delectable inn at the fork of the main shopping street near the stone bridge very likely lives in the grateful memory of those who have had the luck to lunch or dine there. Even in war time the rich brownish-yellow war bread was the best in France, the omelets and salads beyond compare, and the cheery proprietress could regale one with tales of the Boches of 1914 and the Prussians of 1870. Bismarck had his headquarters at the Rothschild villa outside the town, and the first peace negotiations went on there before the Chancellor moved to Versailles—and left the Rothschild cellars absolutely empty.

And just now, in 1918, came the lapping edges of the returning waves of the Boches, and the American Marines came to meet them and help hold the four bridges across the Marne until the French engineers could blow them up.

Gone is the old stone bridge, built in 1621, and the quay with its statue of La Fontaine, and even that philosopher's house in one of the old stony streets.

Gone, too, are the picturesque ruins of Charles Martel's old castle, from which one had such beautiful views of the town, the river, and the encircling hills to westward. That castle was built in 730. It was captured by the English in 1411, sacked by the Spaniards in 1501, captured by Charles V in 1544, and riddled with cannon shot in 1814, when Napoleon with only 24,000 men soundly thrashed some 50,000 Prussians! All the old town across the Marne has now been ground to rubbish and powder by high explosives, a desolate No Man's Land probably never to be rebuilt; and St. Crépin's square tower and its precious sixteenth-century stained glass no longer exist.

At the time of the first battle of the Marne, in September, 1914, Château Thierry was not greatly damaged by the Germans. Their stay was short, their exit hurried, and they had the intention to hold it and Epernay and Châlons for their own use as way stations to Berlin, as they did in 1870. They contented themselves with immediate plunder—jewelry, silverware, securities and money, food, wine, and supplies. Their retreat was so hurried that they had no time to burn or blow up. Racing southward along the valley of the Petit Morin a few miles, they reached the Route de Paris or Route de Châlons, the broad, direct highway that cuts from Meaux to La Ferte, Montmirail, and Epernay. At Viels-Maisons Château they spent a night and wrecked the pretty villa with their occupancy, and wreaked a speedy vengeance on the charming old Château de Villiers-les-Maillets. They defiled the little Château de Rieux near Montmirail, where Lamartine lived, and General von Einem, commanding the Seventh Army, occupied as his headquarters the great château of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld at Montmirail. Some Imperial prince was with him there during the four days of the German occupation. The staff put up at the hotel, where they incidentally packed up the linen and silver as methodically as the All-Highest one was doing at the château, and all the plunder was promptly despatched toward Germany on the second day. Cellars were emptied, of course. They laid the paved streets thick with straw while their artillery rumbled through, and installed a battery in the park behind the château, exchanging shots with a French battery across the Petit Morin until the German gun and crew were struck by neat French shots. Two crosses in the roads near the rampart mark the spot where they fell—one the grave of a von der Goltz, nephew of the recreator of the Turkish army.

As the French came on the Germans prepared to burn Montmirail in the pleasing way by which they had made sure the destruction of so many Belgian towns. Sacks full of tiny black pastilles were thrown in all the open doors and windows; but before the men with the flaming pinwheels could follow, the French came

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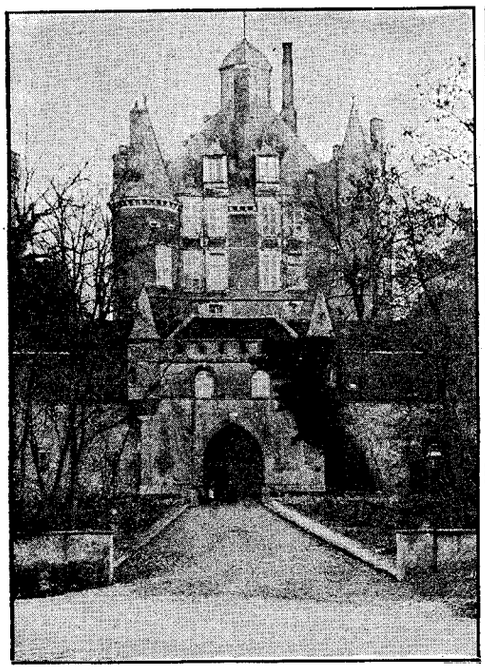
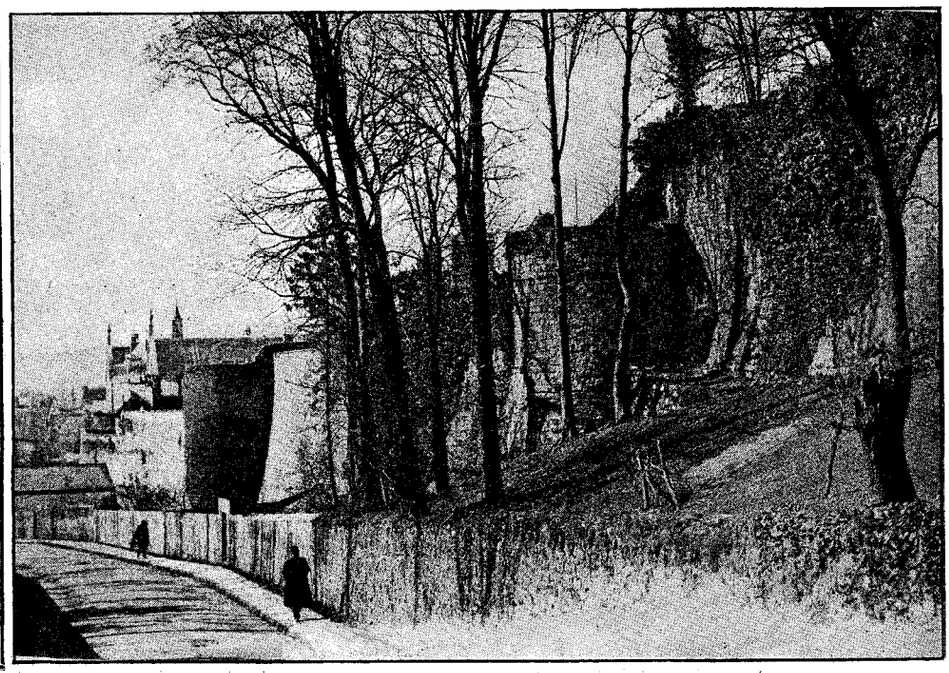
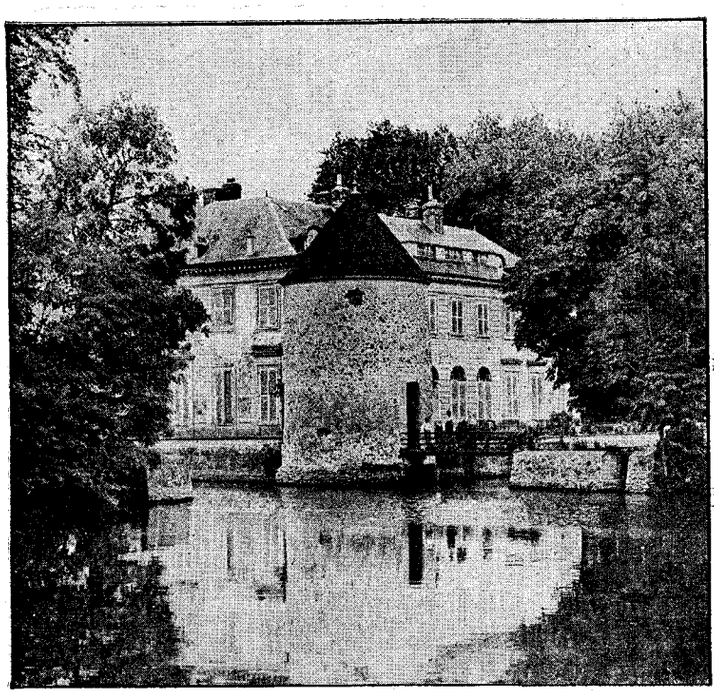


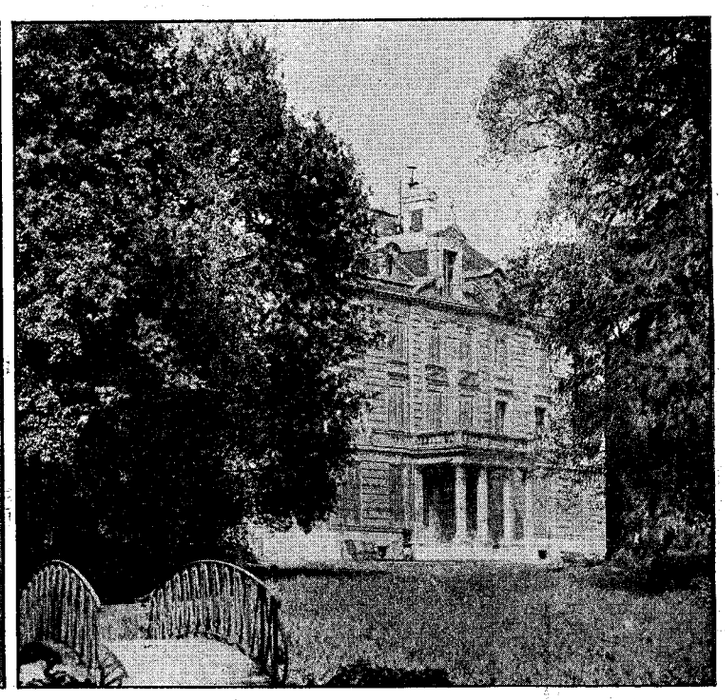
CHÂTEAU DE MONTMORT ON THE MARNE



THE OLD RAMPARTS OF CHÂTEAU THIERRY



CHÂTEAU DE VILLIERS-LES-MAILLETS



CHÂTEAU DE VIELS-MAISONS (AISNE)

CHÂTEAUX IN THE DISTRICT THAT IS NOW BEING FOUGHT OVER IN FRANCE

swarming through the woods to the château gates, and the last of the *Boches* went pellmell in the darkness. Sixty German wounded were left behind with one German surgeon, knowing quite well that they would be treated humanely and with the consideration that international conventions provide.

The German artillery headed straight on down the valley road in the afternoon, and at dusk they floundered in the byways of the great swamp of St. Gond, where they were finished off completely the next day. The rear-guard fought all across the beautiful stretches of farming country and forest lands, villages, and country houses towards Epernay, the battle fiercest at the very gates of the Rochefoucaulds' other château, that of Montmort. There the tide decisively turned, the last resistance ended, and the German retreat was then a rout, a frantic flight, with Foch biting at their heels clear to the height beyond Rheims and the edge of the Châlons plain. They had only time to fine the town of Epernay eighty thousand bottles of champagne, when there were millions of bottles in the great cellars, and no time for great destruction before retiring. They could only fill their pockets and knapsacks at the last moment. They have vented their wrath ever since by bombing Epernay and all the railway towns every moonlight season.

Château Thierry's big hospitals have received the wounded from near-by Rheims and from Verdun for all these years, but they were hastily evacuated when the Boches broke through last month and came down to the Marne from the Rheims sector. Little Montmirail had three military hospitals, because of its fortunate position and wonderful air, and cable messages have recently told how the wounded sent down from the recent fighting at Château Thierry swamped the medical staffs; and how two American women, Mrs. Herbert Squiers and Miss Olga Wiborg, with two nuns, worked twenty-four hours at one stretch, cleaning and dressing the wounds of six hundred men. Mrs. Squiers, who knew perilous times during the siege of Peking, has been the only American or foreigner in Montmirail for three years, in charge of the operating-room at the French military hospital of St. Vincent de Paul. The wounded American marines were amazed to find themselves in American hands in the heart of France, and, like all the patients in Mrs. Squiers's wards, will probably protest if removed.

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THE ADMINISTRATION: AN APPRAISAL

DOES THE ADMINISTRATION NEED A WAR CABINET?

As the author of this article has a position of responsibility in the Government service, his name cannot be published. In an article in The Outlook last week he discussed "Personnel, Politics, and Red Tape," and showed the need of making over the Government's assortment of bureaus and departments into a single effective administrative machine. In the following article he shows how this may be done, and concludes with a summary of his appraisal of the Administration.—THE EDITORS.

BEFORE the United States entered the war, the executive branch of the Government consisted of ten departments and a number of separate bureaus and commissions, such as the Inter-State Commerce Commission, Federal Trade Commission, and United States Tariff Commission, each responsible directly to the President. The heads of the ten departments, acting as the Cabinet, were also expected to advise the President upon matters of general policy, each man thus combining his individual executive function with a general advisory function.

When we entered the war, the Government had to be greatly expanded. It was clear that special administrative bodies would have to be appointed to deal with food, fuel, shipping, restrictions on exports and imports, and the like. So a number of these special bodies were formed. Like the regular departments, most of them were made responsible to the President; unlike the regular departments, their chiefs were not given Cabinet positions.

The Cabinet continued to act as a general board to the President, but it was composed of such overworked executives that it could rarely meet more than twice a week or give more than passing attention to the general problems of mobilization and strategy. For the consideration of such matters the President depended upon the Council of National Defense, an advisory department headed by a group of six Cabinet officers, supposed to be especially concerned with the problems of mobilization. But the Council of National Defense only partially fulfilled its mission; while it answered the important purpose of putting a vast corps of competent civilian advisers at the disposal of the various departments, it did not take itself seriously as a policy-forming body. It did not make decisions controlling the policy of the departments represented in its own membership. It did not, therefore, co-ordinate even these six departments. It had, furthermore, no authority to direct the numerous executive bodies not represented upon it; and some of these, such as the Treasury Department, the Food Administration, and the Shipping Board, are of great importance. An attempt was made to expand the Council of National Defense by adding to its membership the heads of all the war-making executive bodies, but this experiment came to naught, as far as the writer was able to learn, and the influence of the Council of National Defense steadily diminished. A group consisting of Mr. McAdoo, Mr. Hoover, Mr. Hurley, Mr. Baruch, Mr. McCormick, and Dr. Garfield now meets with the President every Wednesday afternoon; but that is as near as we have got to a general policy board.

Each one of our twenty or thirty departments and administrations has therefore gone its own way. Duplication of work and conflicts of policy and authority between these executive bodies can at present be settled only by the President. He is the single arbiter.

It is an extraordinary state of affairs. No man on earth could have the time and strength to settle promptly the innumerable questions which come up for settlement at Washington. Certainly no man who is writing war messages and entertaining visiting diplomats has time to do this. As a result of the inadequacy of what ought to be a central executive department, but is, in fact, a single man with a mere staff of secretaries and clerks, only the most critical and disastrous conflicts have been referred to Mr. Wilson. Therefore the United States Government, instead of being a single machine, remains to-day a congeries of practically independent bureaus which achieve co-ordination only by the laborious methods outlined above, or else by appeal to the President, which often means a delay of weeks while Mr. Wilson devotes his personal time to a "study of the problem" from written memoranda upon it. There is no machinery for the anticipation of such problems and the formulation of a general policy which shall bind the whole Government.

Take a single example of Government duplication. Nobody, so far as the writer knows, has counted the number of departments and bureaus which send publicity material from Washington, competing for public attention and newspaper space. Probably thirty would be nearer the mark than ten. The following are a few of these: The Committee on Public Information, the Food Administration, the Fuel Administration, the Liberty Loan Organization, the War Savings Committee, the Shipping Board, the Labor Department, the Department of Agriculture, the Ordnance Bureau of the War Department, the Commission on Training Camp Activities, the Bureau of Education, and the Bureau of War Risk Insurance. There are a great many more, and some of them have two or three independent publicity men working at various points in their organization. It is one of Mr. Creel's duties to co-ordinate Government publicity, but he is helpless, for he has no authority over the department heads; and each department head, believing his work to be of paramount importance, and wishing to have a publicity bureau directly responsible to himself, resents restriction by Mr. Creel or anybody else, and lets his press agents go ahead sending mail to newspapers and magazines. Tons of paper are wasted. The editors shout their protests and throw the mimeographed sheets of propaganda into their waste-baskets. The public is bewildered by the babel of press agents and the multiplicity of things which, according to them, will "win the war." But the flood continues. Mr. Wilson either does not see or prefers not to see, feeling that any interference would look like Presidential censorship of news (which it would); and nobody else has the power to do anything. It is like the race of armaments; to cut down on your own outlay is merely to be beaten by a rival. To stop crying your own departmental wares is to be shouted down. The situation can be met only by action by a central deliberating body which would have time and energy to study the matter, and whose decision would control every Governmental office.

Duplication and conflict are not even the most serious defects of our present administrative machinery. More serious is the fact that ours is a Governmental body without a brain. We have no war planning board. We have no general staff to study and determine executive policies and make a business of foresight. We are making war at random.

The Army, to be sure, has its General Staff; but is it necessary to remind the President again that, in his own words, "it is a Nation which is at war, not an army"? The professional training and special experience which fit the War Department's General Staff to do the thinking of the Army are the very things which unfit it for duty as a National planning board. By training and prejudice it looks at things from a soldier's point of view. Its professional bias makes it about as useful in determining general policies as would be a group of Mr. Hoover's advisers or Mr. Hurley's experts. Each group has its own limits of imagination. We need men who can see the whole picture.

Furthermore, we need men who will not, like the present Cabinet or the Council of National Defense, be so absorbed in their individual executive duties that they cannot devote themselves to consideration of the whole administrative problem. We need men who will not only reconcile the policies and practice of the existing departments, plan reorganizations, and bring about changes in personnel where necessary, but also keep their eyes open for the needs of the future, foresee what new departments, what reorganizations, are going to prove advisable, watch the existing departments to see that they are meeting all problems adequately, and deliberately determine our National strategy as is not now done.

A study of the British War Cabinet shows the kind of administrative council which experience has proved most useful. In addition to his own personal secretariat—a group of five assistants who perform approximately the services that occupy Mr. Tumulty and his associates at the White House—Mr. Lloyd George has a War Cabinet of five men besides himself, only one of whom, Mr. Bonar Law, has any other duty than

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that of membership in the Cabinet.[1] These men sit every morning and almost every afternoon, and invite into their meetings such experts as may have the special information they need. The writer is informed that there are often as many as twenty people at their sessions. They take up important topics in rotation and determine policies thereon, and they have their own executive staff, who see that reports made for the consideration of the Cabinet are obtained, and that the decisions of the Cabinet are carried out.

What would we not gain from such a group of authentic Vice-Presidents! If Mr. Wilson had a group of advisers who thus met every day and all day, our food, fuel, shipping, ordnance, aviation, and railway policies would at last be developed into something like a single policy. Imagine that we had had such a War Cabinet last autumn, and that it had tackled the aircraft problem (as it would have)—a question which has been the object of "special investigations" by informal representatives of the President and reinvestigations by Congress and the Department of Justice and endless worry and talk in Congress and the press for months. The War Cabinet, knowing the shipping situation and the railway situation, and having consulted with the Army General Staff and with Mr. Baruch, would have known what sort of an air policy we needed and were able to adopt. It would have called in Secretary Baker, General Squier, Colonel Deeds, Mr. Coffin, a group of motor experts, and perhaps a few foreign advisers, and would have questioned them in detail. It would have called for reports where necessary. Its knowledge of the whole war game would have enabled it to reach a decision far more quickly than any Congressional investigating committee, and it would have had executive power to act at once. Months might have been saved. In like manner, the War Cabinet would now be consulting with Secretary Houston, Secretary Wilson, and their specialists on the subject of farm labor. It would be its business to foresee the fuel situation next winter and arrange for team play between Dr. Garfield, Mr. McAdoo, Mr. Baruch, and Mr. Schwab. Such a Cabinet, with its own staff of assistants and clerks, would take two days to study a situation that Mr. Wilson of necessity takes a week to unravel personally. Whenever changes in personnel proved necessary, such a body could force them upon a complacent department head. The War Cabinet would give us unity and serve as a National administrative brain.

Mr. Wilson's reluctance to appoint such a body is natural. He believes coalition government to be impracticable in this country, and does not wish to displace his present Cabinet. His policy is to build up a war machine outside it where necessary, but not to disturb it any more than he has to. Sometimes he gives to outside war bureaus functions which would naturally belong within the Cabinet if the Cabinet were stronger. For instance, the War Trade Board might just as well be operated by the Secretary of Commerce if the latter did not happen to be Mr. Redfield; but Mr. Wilson prefers to let Mr. Redfield stay and to give the control of exports and imports to Mr. McCormick. He has built up working relations with his department heads which he would not want to see an intervening council break down.

More significant, perhaps, is Mr. Wilson's fear of loss of control of the Nation's policy if a War Cabinet took hold. He wants our foreign policy (and to a less extent certain phases of our domestic policy) absolutely in his own hands—where many of us are well content to have it rest. Knowing that it is impossible to decide a question of food, munitions, or commerce without in some degree affecting our foreign policy, he will not do anything which may loosen his grip on the helm. Then, too, Mr. Wilson is not constitutionally the sort of man who likes to work orally. He has the scholar's mind and mode of work; he calls for written reports and makes written decisions, usually by letter. He distrusts oral information because he feels himself to be prejudiced favorably or unfavorably by the personality of the man who is talking to him. Possibly he is also humanly afraid of being talked around; afraid that a War Cabinet would run away with him. It is, at any rate, an instrument not made to the hand of a man who sees nobody except his family, a small group of relatives by marriage, his Cabinet (as a body, and not often as individuals), an occasional Senator or Representative, and a few, a very few, trusted informal advisers.

As this article is being written, the passage of the Overman Act has made it possible for the President to effect several much-needed redistributions of Governmental authority. Although this law in a certain sense frees the President, it also adds vastly to the burden of Presidential responsibility, which long ago became too heavy for any one man to carry. It makes Mr. Wilson responsible not only for a single correction of the obvious duplications at Washington, but for a continuing adaptation of Governmental machinery to the changing needs brought about by our changing and developing strategy. The Overman Bill, therefore, not only removes all doubt of his authority to appoint a War Cabinet without further legislation; it makes its appointment all the more necessary. When will Mr. Wilson overcome his natural human reluctance to the plan, and realize what he will gain by having his hands freed for the great task of international statesmanship? The War Cabinet is inevitable; better have it now than after six, twelve, or eighteen months more of haphazard government have disastrously proved the need of it.

Such a War Cabinet might have two useful functions not yet mentioned. It might maintain a closer touch with Congress than can our overworked President or any single existing department. The President has neither the time nor the inclination to see Congressmen. Despite the fact that his tremendous power is largely the result of his control over Congress through his party leadership, Mr. Wilson has become well-nigh as remote a figure to most Congressmen as he is to private citizens. Department heads cannot avoid seeing Congressmen occasionally, but in general resent their intrusion, knowing well that there is frequently a deserving constituent in the offing; their resentment has been sufficiently obvious to widen the breach between the Congress and the Executive; and the ignorance of our administrative machinery displayed by some of our lawmakers shows from what a vast distance they view the work going on a mile or two northwest of the Capitol. For example, Mr. George Creel was rebuked the other day by the House for impertinent language to a member, but in the very debate which stirred his wrath Mr. Creel was denounced on the floor of the House for issuing too much Liberty Loan publicity—when everybody conversant with the subject knows that the Liberty Loan publicity is almost entirely put out by the Treasury Department and the local Federal Reserve Bank Committees; Mr. Creel has nothing to do with the bulk of it.

Such ignorance—and there is a fresh exhibition of it almost every day—would seem to call for a closer understanding of administrative procedure. This is where the War Cabinet might prove of service.

Secretary Baker has made a great discovery. He has invited the Senate and House Committees on Military Affairs to sit in with the War Council of the War Department, and has made these Committees his useful friends instead of his foes. He has learned that a Congressional committee, though a bad master, is a good servant, and his innovation is doing worlds for Congress. It is giving the Committees on Military Affairs a more practical understanding of the problems for the settlement of which they share responsibility with Mr. Baker. It is giving these Committees an opportunity to substitute legislative foresight for shrill fault-finding based on hindsight. One likes to foresee a War Cabinet which in similar fashion would occasionally invite Congressional leaders to attend its deliberations and even to take part in them. The education of Congress would thus extend beyond exclusively military affairs to problems such as those of food, labor, and transportation. The War Cabinet, to be sure, would have to be careful not to be stampeded by Congressional delegations; but an astute body of men could avoid this, and at the same time secure a measure of the results which students of political theory have long had in mind when they proposed that Cabinet officials should have seats in Congress. Our legislators will do better work if they are not so apparently held at arm's length.

The general character of the War Cabinet might enable it to keep in closer touch with the country also than can the President or any single department. At present the Administration feels towards Governors, State Councils of Defense, and

[1] This statement is based on Mr. Robert Donald's explicit account of the British War Cabinet's duties, written in April, before Lord Milner assumed his duties at the War Office. I do not know to what extent, if at all, Lord Milner now acts as a member of the War Cabinet.

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local leaders generally, much as a board of directors usually feels towards its stockholders; they are potential interferers, to be cajoled with soft generalities when they visit headquarters, and kept from tampering with the works. Local leaders are rightly confused by the complexity of Governmental Washington. There is no one place where they can go to discuss general policies with responsible officials, to give advice that they have come perhaps two thousand miles to give, and to obtain information. Mr. Hoover tells them one thing, Dr. Garfield another; Mr. McAdoo, half a mile away, tells them something else; and a section of the Council of National Defense, of uncertain relation to the other Federal departments, advises them about their State Council of Defense.

The War Cabinet ought to have a special staff to discuss general problems with those who know the sentiment of the country at large and the special needs and demands of the various localities. This staff might also make the connection between the War Cabinet and the various State Councils of Defense. The existence of such machinery would at least do something to cure Washington of its provincialism and to help interpret Washington to the visiting representatives of the hundred and ten millions.

The Administration, take it all in all, is not doing badly. Its achievements, although uneven, are substantial. It has accumulated considerable speed since its recovery from a state of partial paralysis during last December and January. It is doing better work every day. It is always months ahead of Congress. Still, when everything is said on its behalf, there remains to the observer at the capital a certain general impression of *slowness*.

There are so many delays in Washington! Reorganizations, dismissals, appointments, decisive orders—always they seem to lag behind the need which they were meant to meet. Many a Government employee gets cynical about the Administration. "We needed a labor administrator last July," he complains, "and got him this May. We needed centralized civilian control of aircraft production last May, and got it this April. We needed a Government ownership of railways last summer, and got it in December. We needed a real housing programme last September; we got part of it in the winter and the rest late in the spring. We needed centralized control of purchasing last year; we got it bit by bit, have a large measure of it now, but haven't got it all yet. We have needed a War Cabinet since the war began, and we haven't got it yet. It took us months to get strong men to handle purchasing and transportation for the Army, and there seems to be no outlook for stronger men in the various high positions that are still feebly held.

"This kind of thing happens again and again," he continues. "A few specialists on the inside discover that a certain step is going to be necessary. They recommend it. They begin to feel that the step is becoming immediately imperative. They find it is being proposed to Mr. Baker or the President or somebody else, and wait. They get impatient. They wait another month, and get furious. The matter, they hear, is 'under consideration.' Finally the press and the country wake up to the need for the step, and call for it. By this time it is long overdue. At last, after a 'very careful personal study of the matter' by the President himself, the step is taken. Is that the way to win a war?"

One need not stress the point that by its very leisureliness the Administration saves itself many a mistake. Time brings experience; it is easier to make housing plans, for example, now than last year, when the need for houses lay in the future rather than in the present—and, alas! the past; it is easier to win public approval for the appointment of capitalists like Messrs. Ryan and Schwab now than last year, when the need for men of vast executive experience was not so obviously paramount. But is the Administration to follow public opinion? It must lead. It must organize itself so that prompt action is possible, and then act promptly. If the Nation is to play a winning part in this war, the Administration will have to display more foresight and be more fearless to discard dead Governmental forms and methods for those dictated by the necessities of victory.

TAKING A CHANCE

BY ROSAMOND CONEY

"YOU don't feel very well, do you?"

"No, I don't."

The curt negative came from a soldier who looked very seedy indeed. Military was the last word to describe him. He had shuffled into the canteen a few minutes before and sat down in the first chair at any old table in a rumpled, dejected heap.

"You want something to eat, don't you?" I went on. The girl at whose table he was sitting apparently hadn't seen him. Ours is volunteer service, and these slips sometimes occur, and then I, as manager, am supposed to come to the rescue. "What do you want?"

"Well—" he hesitated.

"Just out of the hospital, aren't you?" I guessed.

"Yep, and I don't know what to eat."

"I'll fix something you can eat," I said. "You see, I used to be a trained nurse."

I was afraid he would scorn the milk-toast and tea I brought, and I retired to my high revolving chair, from which I can survey the room over my cigarette and candy counter. But he didn't scorn it. He ate every mouthful—indifferently—life was evidently endlessly boring; and when he finished he sat staring before him. The other boys kept coming and going, laughing and chatting with me and the pretty waitresses or else seriously asking advice on all subjects from socks to matrimony. Finally the new boy came up to pay his check.

"You look tired," I said. "Why don't you go upstairs to the club-room and lie down? It's nice there—lots of couches and pillows. You must take care of yourself now."

"Maybe I will go." But he didn't move. He might not act friendly, but he seemed to like to stay around. I hated to see him standing first on one foot and then on the other while I doled out change and passed the time of day with other soldiers and sailors.

"Come back here," I said. "There is a nice chair, and you can rest yourself." The loud creaking of the wicker told how heavily he sank into the armchair. All of a sudden I realized that he had been saying something—half mumbling. I caught:

"Felt so lonesome I bumped into people on the street so they'd cuss at me and I could sass back. I had to talk to some one, didn't I?"

"Talk to me," I said, quietly. "Tell me about yourself. Where do you come from?"

"My folks live in St. Louis, but I haven't been home for years. Only before I came in this outfit I went home to say good-by. Ma ain't much on writing, so she wanted me and my brother to go in the same branch when we enlisted, so we'd be together. But I got sick, and he went on over to France. So I guess I'm out of luck, that's all."

"What branch are you in?" I asked him.

"Aviation."

"That's always interesting."

"That's what I thought it would be; but it's not as interesting as what I was doing before. I'm not an aviator, see? Only a mechanic."

"And before?"

"Well, I did lots of things. First I had a photograph gallery in St. Louis. Flashlights and picture postals, you know. I made a lot of money, but I played around with the gang and a bunch of fly girls, and I'd always have such a big head in the morning I couldn't shoot the box. I had to quit."

"And then what did you do?"

"Well, a chance came to go in the circus—balloon ascensions—and I took it. I was short, so they used me for other things—acrobatic stunts and any old thing. It was hard work, though. And then we went to a little burg in Texas where they was having races, and we circus guys used to go. I palled up with

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the jockeys, and—well, after a while I got the chance to ride the ponies."

"You did, really?" I exclaimed. "Now that was exciting."

"I had to keep in training then. Then was the time I found I could go without the booze if I had to. But after a race I never stopped."

There was a long pause. My friend had something irresistibly nice about him, after all. I was beginning to be interested.

"What did you do next?" I asked.

"Well, then the war came along and I enlisted. Say, my name is Archie Thomas; what's yours?"

I told him.

"Well," he said, "when I got this uniform on and was doing my bit for Uncle Sam I wanted to keep away from the gang; but I couldn't tell my brother, could I? I guess it's good he's went to France. Well, I guess I'll be going."

I looked up to see why he was leaving so abruptly, and saw Mr. Fitzgerald standing beside me. Mr. Fitzgerald is one of our volunteer workers, and is a very attractive man. Archie evidently felt that he was intruding.

"This is Mr. Archie Thomas, Mr. Fitzgerald," I said. "Mr. Thomas doesn't know any one in New York and doesn't know what to do with himself. What do you suggest?"

"How would you like to go to a nice house for dinner, Thomas?"

But Archie Thomas had changed. "Me!" he jeered. "Who wants me for dinner? I'm a bum, I tell you. What is she—a fly girl?" His tone was the tone of the streets.

"She's not a fly girl, Thomas. Mrs. Woodruff is a very lovely woman," said Mr. Fitzgerald. "She asks us to send up some boys every week. Her husband's in the service and away. She's old enough to be your mother."

"Aw—what do I want to go there for? Send some other soldier boy," said Archie.

"Oh, take a chance." That was Mr. Fitzgerald. Archie looked up suddenly. Chances were in his line.

"All right," he said. "Give me the dame's name and tell me how to get there—I'll take a chance."

"She sent a car for you," said Mr. Fitzgerald; and they went off together.

The next news came from Mrs. Woodruff. She called up to offer another invitation.

"That last boy you sent was a queer prize package," she said. "Nevertheless the prize was there when you finally found it."

"What did he do?" I asked.

"Oh, he walked into the hall as if he owned the place and told me he was a bum, and he'd always been a bum, and if I didn't want him he was going—he wasn't going to be kicked out."

"And what did you say?"

"I said I had always hated angels and to come right in. He was sick, too; and as he had forty-eight hours' leave I kept him right with me. I think the rest did him good."

"I don't doubt it."

And then Archie himself came back. He didn't look quite so seedy. His hair was brushed—not so rough and straw-like; and he actually smiled.

"Say," he said, "that Mrs. Woodruff, that sweet old gal—do you know her?"

"A little," I said.

"Well," he said, "she gave me a swell feed and said her house was my home. She's one lovely woman!"—echo of Mr. Fitzgerald. "She asked me to write to her. I called her bluff. And she answered me—here's the letter—and since then I've pestered her with letters. I can't do nothing for her, though, so I guess I can't go there so much. It ain't right."

"I'm sure she'd miss you," I said.

Archie became a regular customer of the canteen then. He hung over the candy counter and chatted by the hour, and the sullen look was wearing away. One day he said: "I don't know what I'll do after the war. I don't want to go back with the gang; but I bet I will."

"Why don't you make something of yourself?" I suggested.

"Me? What can I do?"

"Watch your chance. It may come in the army," I prophesied.

And two weeks later he came dashing in to Mr. Fitzgerald and me while we were counting how many boys had had the "regular dinner."

"My Lord!" he gasped; "they're going to send me to Cornell! *Me!* What'll I do at Cornell? I never finished school."

"You'll make good," I said. "What are you going to study?"

"Well, you see, it was like this. They called for volunteers who knew anything about photography. I thought about my little old studio in St. Louis and what you said about chances, so I volunteered. There weren't many, so I got taken."

"Bully for you!" said Mr. Fitzgerald. "You must write to us."

But he didn't write, and was gone so long that I thought something had gone wrong. Perhaps he wrote to Mrs. Woodruff, but I never thought to ask. There are so many boys, you see. But more than two months later in walked Archie—a very different Archie too. He was as neat as a pin, with a starched white linen stock showing above his blouse. Gone was the slept-in look from his uniform. It might have been tailored. Even his hands were spotless. He was proud of himself, too, and ready to jolly us all.

"Kept straight the whole time," he told us, "and worked like the deuce. It was aerial photography." Then followed a long explanation of the same, from which, after a maze of something about studying angles and lights, I gathered that the aerial photographer hangs by one leg and takes pictures which only he and a few other privileged characters can understand even when printed. But we all know the value of those pictures. And this was our Archie! Suddenly he looked serious. "It's all the club," he said. "Where would I be if I'd never come in here? What made you do it?" And he shook hands solemnly with Mr. Fitzgerald and me.

I can't deny that his new-found self-respect made Archie a little bit vain about this time. But we thought it did him good. It prompted him to spend a dollar and a half out of his pay once a week for a room in a hotel near by—because it had a bath attached and he could have it alone.

He began to have friends, too—nice boys—they were other aerial photographers. Each time he came in there was some new discovery.

"Just had a scrap," he told us. "Between here and my hotel there are three of those rotten booze peddlers. I was walking along, and he comes behind me and says, 'Say, can I get something for you?' I didn't pay no attention, but he follows along after and says, 'What do you want, boy?' I got mad then, so I turned around and says: 'You're talking to me, are you? All right, walk right along and speak up so I can hear you. What do you want?' 'You needn't act so fresh,' he says; 'I'm trying to do you a favor.' 'Who asked you to?' says I; 'did I ask you?' 'No, you didn't,' says he; 'but I guess you want something, all the same.' That made me madder, and I grabbed him by the throat and shook him. 'You're trying to sell me some of that damned whisky!' I shouts. 'Well, if any one asks you, you go get it for them, and don't go up to fellows who never thought of a drink and put the idea in their head. I could turn you over to the military police.' A crowd began to come up, so I kicked him off. The bum!"

"Why didn't you have him arrested?"

"Oh, well, I figure that if a fellow wants a drink it's none of my business. I won't stand in his way. Only I didn't want one," said Archie.

The next time he came in his story was different.

"Say," he said, laughing, "I just came in from Hempstead with a pretty girl. There was only one seat, and that was next to her, and so I took it. See? I stared at her, too, 'cause I liked to see her blush. When we got to Jamaica, all of a sudden she says:

"'You change here for Brooklyn.'

"'Do you?' I says. 'Thank you;' and I jumped up and went out on the platform. When I got there, I realized I didn't want to go to Brooklyn at all, so I beat it back on the train and sat down behind her. You should have seen her face! So I says:

"'You needn't feel so peeved. I didn't want to go to Brooklyn, only you rattled me. See?'

"But she wouldn't look at me. When we got to the Penn station, we got out, and she had a big grip. I says, 'I'm going to carry that for you,' and she says, snippy, 'I prefer to carry

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it myself.' 'Look here,' says I; 'I don't mean to be fresh. I just want to talk to you. You don't need to be scared. I won't hurt you.' So she let me carry the grip to the street. Seemed she taught at a school on Twenty-ninth Street, where she was going, and before we got there she got real friendly and gave me her address. I'd like to get a letter from her in France. I'm going to write to her."

He will, too; and if she is sensible she will answer him, for Archie has all the virtues, including a sense of humor, which made it easier and harder to say good-by. He left us a picture of himself surrounded by the Bible, socks, sweater, and chocolate that had come from Mrs. Woodruff, and to-day he is Lieutenant Archie Thomas, no less, —— Aviation Squadron, A. E. F.!

THE FORGOTTEN ARMY

BY GEORGE EVERSON

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, COMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL COURTS OF THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY OF NEW YORK CITY

EARLY in the second year of the great war America awoke in a wide movement for adequate National defense. The first large public demonstration was New York City's stupendous Preparedness Parade. From nine o'clock in the morning till nine o'clock at night cohort after cohort passed up Fifth Avenue until the best estimates had placed the number at one hundred and fifty thousand. More wanted to march, but the day was not long enough.

At the same time that this great wave of patriotism and devotion to our National ideals was surging up the avenue another procession, a never-ending one, was on its slow and straggling march. It was a part of that constant stream of misery, misfortune, ignorance, and vice that passes through our criminal courts at the rate of two hundred and forty thousand cases a year. This procession is in dark contrast to the demonstration for patriotic public defense.

If some evil genius could, like a Pied Piper, draw together in one ordered review all of the two hundred and forty thousand that frequented our courts last year, and lead them up Fifth Avenue for us to view as we viewed our Preparedness Parade, we would be appalled.

Let imagination picture the evil genius leading this procession. But let us observe the rank and file following brazenly or in shame, in evil abandon or in despair, in stumbling ignorance or with conscious evil intent.

At the head are those whom the press and the sensational character of their crimes have brought to public attention. They have been drawn by our Pied Piper from the murderer's grave, from the steps of the electric chair, from the burglar's, embezzler's, briber's, and blackmailer's prison cells. They are only a few, but of the whole endless procession they are the only ones that have commanded public attention.

Our seat on the reviewing stand must be comfortable if we review the whole of this ill-starred procession, for it will last longer than from nine o'clock in the morning until nine o'clock at night. The first rays of the dawn of the following day will be breaking over the buildings on the opposite side of the street before the last troop will have passed before us.

As hour passes into each succeeding hour neither hunger, thirst, nor fatigue diverts us. We are fascinated by the spectacle. Here are displayed to us the fruits of evil purpose, recklessness, thoughtless mistakes, ignorance, bad heredity, social injustice, greed, and vice. It seems the panorama of misdirected existence.

We have plenty of time to analyze each group as it passes by.

The second battalion is made up of a swaggering, reckless crew of petty disturbers of the public peace. Some have blood-stained shirts, others bandaged heads or bruised faces. They are the kind that "know it all," that can be told nothing. Some bear the marks of intoxication, others those of brute indulgence. They try judicial patience, they exasperate the police who seek to restore order without arrest. Some are good workmen, but always out of a job; some are worthless idlers; others are generally steady, with sprees of lawlessness as their one luxury. There are men of all nationalities—a cosmopolitan brotherhood of lawlessness.

Here is a shamefaced troop among the rest. In a moment of annoyance or semi-intoxication they have lost control of their hair-trigger tempers. They are honestly sorry, and are appalled by the first serious consequence of their moments of weakness.

Here are dogmatic, set-faced individuals walking two and two glowering at each other. An honest difference of opinion without the saving grace of humor has brought them to blows. Each will always think the other the offending party.

This division ends with a hilarious lot of youngsters whose animal spirits have brought them to the police station.

Now for nearly two hours the victims of intemperance pass by. The first that come into view are a respectable-looking lot, with all the marks of the law-abiding citizen. They are the ones who, though otherwise good citizens, have their yearly or monthly fling, and for this once only have they brought upon themselves the disgrace of arrest for public intoxication. They are ashamed or boastfully proud of their escapades. There are the young, foolhardy boys. There are those over-confident citizens of all classes who have always boasted that they never got to the state where they couldn't get home. There are the honest workmen and mechanics who stayed one drink too long over the friendly bar on their way home Saturday night. They have sought in the saloons the diversion, companionship, and entertainment denied them in their crowded, slovenly homes.

After half an hour the aspect of those in the procession gradually changes. The mark of dissolute and intemperate lives is shown in the physical unwholesomeness of features. Intermittent intemperance is drifting into habitual dissipation. We are beginning to note the vacant, lack-luster eyes. Soiled collars, stringy neckties, a peculiar growing unkemptness of dress, indicate to all but themselves how far they have traveled the path toward habitual drunkenness.

Then come the hopeless drunkards whom only dearth of money keeps from perpetual intoxication. There are those of self-willed debauchery whose reputable families have striven in vain to save from shame. There are the weak, the simple-minded, whose only strength is desire for drink. There are their stronger companions whose drunkenness is only a part of their many-sided sensuality. Last come the stragglers—unowned derelicts drifting from the park bench to the saloon, to the workhouse and back, incoherent in speech except when begging for a drink. In the haze of their pain-racked and dulled sensibilities they have arrived at the absolute of intemperance and self-indulgence—their final goal.

We have watched this long, weary procession of drunkenness—brought here by chance, by bad associations, by weakness, by sorrow, by overstrain, by idleness, by losses, by over-confidence, by choice, or by ignorance. The division ends.

But who are these following? The shifty eyes, the sleek cunning, hypocrisy of bearing, reveal the schooled criminal with conscious evil purpose. They are the pickpockets and the "jostlers." These wolves of the crowds make their living from the money snatched out of women's handbags or cunningly cut or filched from men's persons.

In close association with the pickpocket come the burglar, the thug, the gangster, that new product of our slum frontier. Blustering, over-confident in their bullying and swaggering bravado, or slinking meanly along, reflecting the nature of their exploits, they pass before us. Some are old in crime, plainly showing the marks of prison service. It has obviously not gone well with them; they look cowed and hopeless. Others with a measure of success have "beat" the game and still walk with reckless confidence.

Following are the young disciples in wrong-doing. They are graduates of the street corner and cheap club-room schools of crime. Their ignorance and idleness more than their perversity

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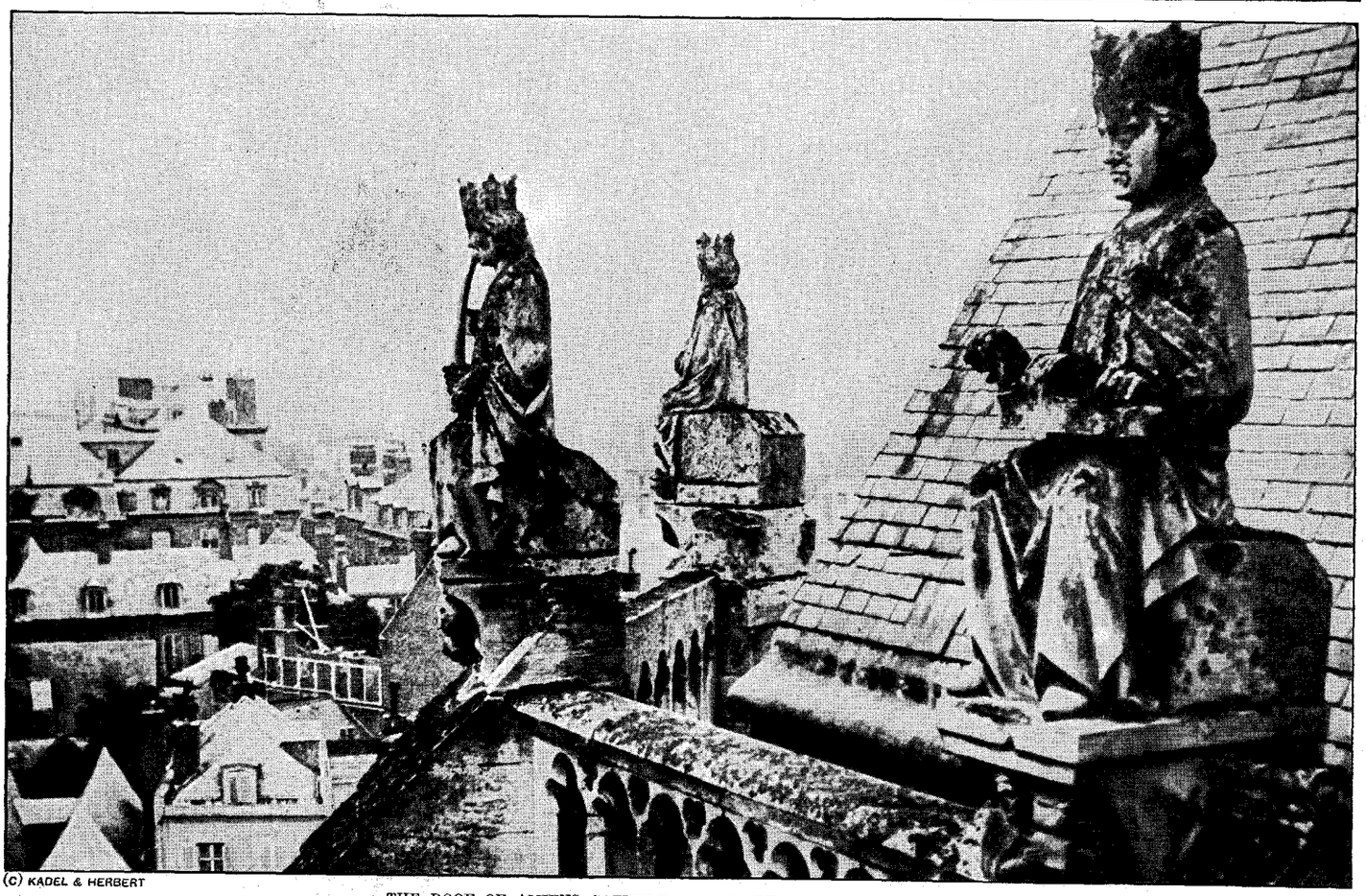
CURRENT EVENTS ILLUSTRATED



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THE ROOF OF AMIENS CATHEDRAL—A MARK FOR HUN SHRAPNEL

The roof is of timber, in some places covered with slate. "When we turn to the roof," says a critic, "and see the vast woodwork which supports it, it looks as if a forest of oak and chestnut must have been sacrificed to provide material for this stupendous piece of carpentry." It is thus peculiarly liable to damage by bombardment

THE INTERIOR OF THE DEVASTATED CATHEDRAL OF ARRAS

MUTE PROTESTS OF FRENCH CIVILIZATION AGAINST GERMAN "KULTUR"

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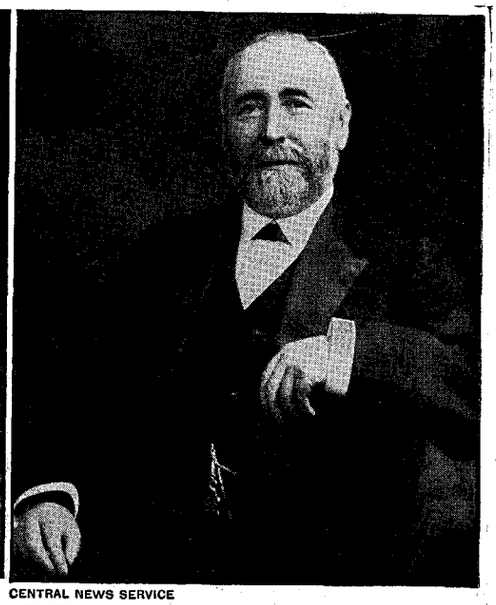
EX-MAYOR MITCHEL, OF NEW YORK, NOW MAJOR MITCHEL, OF SAN DIEGO, CAL.

Major Mitchel is now stationed at the North Island Aviation School at San Diego

CENTRAL NEWS SERVICE

AN AMERICAN OFFICER WHO SWAM THE MARNE TO RESCUE A FRENCH SOLDIER

Lieut. W. R. Flannery, of the U. S. Army, whose photograph appears above, recently swam across the Marne with a disabled French sergeant under a hail of enemy bullets. For this feat he was decorated



CENTRAL NEWS SERVICE

LORD PIRRIE, OF ENGLAND, WHO WILL PUSH BRITISH SHIP-BUILDING

Lord Pirrie has been appointed Controller-General of Merchant Ship-Building in Great Britain. He has long been a member of the well-known firm of Harland & Wolff, ship-builders

BRITISH SOLDIERS HAULING A CAPTURED GERMAN FIELD GUN INTO POSITION TO USE AGAINST ITS FORMER OWNERS

M. E. BERNER

ROAD-MAKING ON THE BATTLEFIELD

The terrible shell-fire frequently destroys the roads in a hotly contested section, and for that reason, or for greater convenience in handling men and supplies, the laying out of new roads becomes necessary

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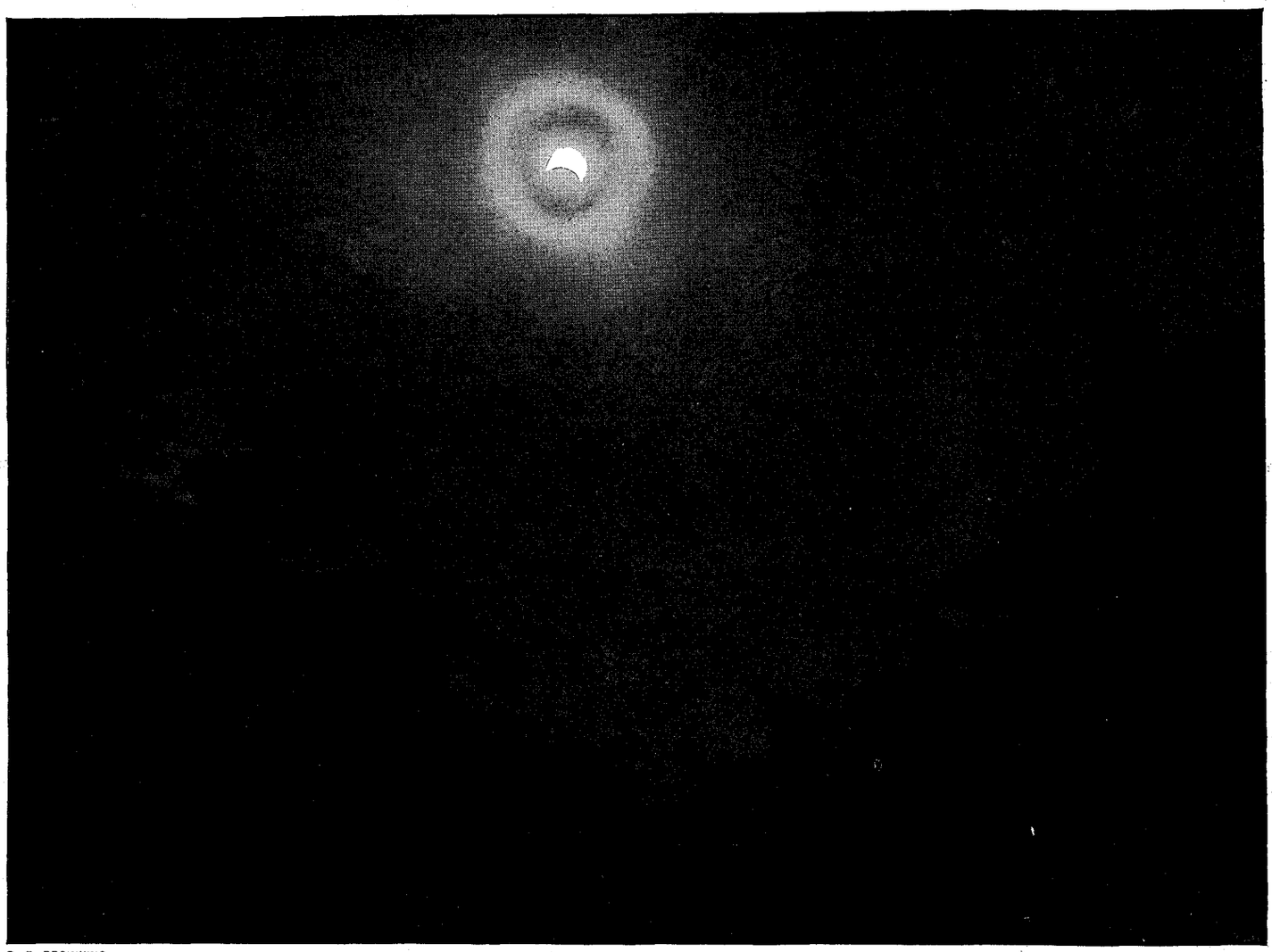
A DRAMATIC SCENE AT THE TRAINING CAMP AT QUANTICO, VIRGINIA

These members of the Marine Corps are showing their enthusiasm for the war in no uncertain way. Note the discarded hats in the foreground; the Marines' hats are certainly "in the ring" both at home and abroad



O. F. BROWNING

A PHOTOGRAPH OF THE ECLIPSE OF THE SUN AS SEEN AT NEW YORK CITY JUNE 8, 1918

The eclipse as seen in New York was only partial, but the conditions for astronomical investigation were unusually good. This photograph of course presents only the appearance of the sun as seen by the "man in the street" with the aid of a smoked glass, but this view proved interesting to thousands of observers

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have been their undoing. There is much of good in them yet; they have started wrongly. Right influences might put them right.

The assortment of irresponsible individuals that from now on for nearly an hour claims our attention has joined the procession through the doorway of the Domestic Relations Court. There are wife-deserters and non-supporting fathers. Also among its number can be found a smaller group of sons and daughters who have forgotten or ignored the duty resting upon them to care for their aged parents.

Many of these men, weakened by indulgence in drink or lust, or simply discouraged by unemployment or sickness in the family, have grown insensible to the moral and legal obligations resting upon them for the maintenance of their wives and children or their fathers and mothers, until at last their dependents, driven to the point of desperation, have appealed to the court for relief. Many of these men love their families, but have simply become careless and selfish.

Then follow those whom jealousy of other men, justly grounded or unjustly alleged, has given the excuse for shirking the family responsibilities. Some are honest-faced fellows whom cankering jealousy has driven to desertion as a last resort. Their faces are bitter, disillusioned, sorrowful. They are willing to support their children, but their manhood revolts at harboring an unfaithful wife.

The next troop, a body of substantial-looking business men, are surprising to us. They hardly look like criminals. They are property-owners brought to court by inspectors of the Labor Department and other departments having to do with safety of buildings for factory workers. They are the owners of properties that have by recent legislation required alteration to make them legally safe and fit, or men who in erecting buildings have failed to comply with the law's requirements.

Most of these are honest, well-intentioned citizens with no criminal intent, who often correct the errors before the court finds it necessary to exact punishment.

Following are some who for the most part are honest, respectable-looking folk. They are men of all ages, youths, and women, largely foreigners. They are violators of petty ordinances. They are those who have been found littering up the parks with papers, women who have let their dogs loose in the parks, youths and those of older years who have torn branches from trees or shrubbery.

Others are janitors and janitresses who have violated some street-cleaning or health ordinance, like mixing garbage in the same can with ashes. Here is a troop of footsore Italians and other poor laborers who, in their over-thriftiness, have used street car transfers illegally. Here is a crowd upon whose faces indignation and shamefacedness are rivals. They have been called to court for spitting on the sidewalk or in the subway during a Health Department clean-up campaign, or summoned to court for smoking in the subway. There are many more of these petty offenders. The individual cases are petty and their arrest may seem oppressive. It is, however, a necessary part of the machinery that makes the city clean, safe, and habitable.

Next to follow are the twelve thousand children who have passed through the Children's Court during the year. They are as other children, though on the whole more poorly clad, and a large number of them look underfed. Some appear mentally deficient and dull. There are the newsboy type, the street urchin, the crowds of incipient gangsters, the slouching, listless ones, girls with brazen, devil-may-care faces, others tragically weak—all children, but some schooled in hard experience beyond their years. Some are incipient criminals; about half are simply unfortunate in being without proper guardianship or parental supervision. These crowds of children are the early harvest of bad environment, heredity, misfortune, ignorance, criminality, and neglect. As they troop by us we can almost see the weight of the tremendous handicap on their slight shoulders.

A band of about three thousand vagrants follows, in whose numbers are the poor, old, helpless creatures that go mumbling about the streets for money for bread and a ten-cent lodging. Some show marks of former respectability. Then there are the fakers, hardy-looking individuals whose distorted psychology makes it easier for them to beg than to work. A number have false bandages or shamelessly display some infirmity, deformity, or bodily injury for sympathy. There are the unclean-looking habitual frequenters of the bread-lines and the denizens of the lowest depths of degradation and poverty. They beg or pilfer from garbage during the day and resort at night to the foulest back rooms of saloons, where they spend what they beg, sleeping in chairs in the stale, vile-smelling dark corners with sawdust-covered floors. They haunt the frequenters of the bar like flies or roaches, begging drink, picking up cigar stubs, and drinking dregs.

A small body of unnatural creatures attract our attention. We note the ashen face and glassy eye of the drug fiend, the effeminate mannerism of the sex pervert, the fantastic movements or the dumb stolidity of the insane. The sight is unpleasant, and we turn away.

The beefy, substantial-looking crowd that follows has been brought to court by the Health Department for violating health regulations. A number of them have been found selling food unfit for human consumption. There are wholesale and retail merchants and representatives of food corporations used to sharp dealings. Some have deliberately endangered the public health for profit. There are the butchers, the poultry dealers, the fishmongers, the wholesale and retail fruit men, the keepers of small stalls and milk stations, pushcart peddlers—a cosmopolitan representation of unscrupulous merchants. In company with these are the cheaters in weights and measures, those robbers of the poor—coal dealers, grocers, produce merchants, meat dealers, that fatten on petty dishonesty. Their meanness shines out through their beady pig eyes.

The gambling-house keepers, disorderly-hotel proprietors, the runners for disorderly houses, the panderers and creatures that live off the proceeds of prostitution, follow after. They vary in type. There are the purple-faced, watery-eyed brutes; the sleek, bediamonded, plump-faced fawners; and the oily-haired, sallow-faced creatures—all shameless in their vicious business.

Hour after hour the procession has gone on through day and into night until dawn is breaking. As the last of the file of men winds past, the tired mind fancifully pictures these creatures as the many-sided personalities of vice slinking away before the light of day. But the procession does not end here.

Down the street, emerging out of the shady mists of lifting darkness, come the ranks of the women offenders. There are the painted and befeathered women of the streets and keepers of disorderly resorts, insolent in their display of shamelessness.

The habitually drunken women in their train are as revolting as they are pitiable. Some are ravingly delirious, some are repulsive in their filthy unkemptness, others are semi-respectable. There are women and girls of low mentality, the feeble-minded with little moral responsibility.

At the end are the girls and young women who have fallen for the first time. There are the headstrong and willful, the foolish and easily led—girls that should be saved from their own destruction. There are the unfortunate, the ignorant, those pinched by poverty, that need protection and help.

In our imagination we have pictured as in a procession the criminals, petty offenders, and youthful delinquents that annually filter through New York's criminal courts. We might picture them again as a segregated community—a city gone wrong—for if they were all segregated in one place they would make a community as large as that of the third largest city of New York State.

But they are not segregated. They are a city within a city here in our great metropolis.

Their lives are closely interwoven with the lives of others. Their wrong-doings, their offendings, their crimes, may affect the lives and property of all or any of us. In the marvelously varied and complex waves of influence they have their part—infinitely hard to trace, but ever present and potent.

In every large city there is this same procession, this same forgotten army of the less fortunate, straggling through the courts. The difference between New York and most other American cities is that in New York some one has not only thought of them, but has intelligently tried to have them treated as human beings should be treated.

The Charity Organization Society of New York City was the first to crystallize these thoughts of helpfulness, of compassion and sympathy, into action. First, it initiated a legislative investigation into the conditions surrounding the treatment of these

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unfortunates, and later formed a permanent committee to study conditions and change procedure and method of handling to best conserve and rehabilitate the human material daily brought to the bar of justice in these courts.

This Committee on Criminal Courts, as it is called, is unique in philanthropic endeavor.

Seven years have passed since it was originally formed. The changes that have taken place in that time at the initiation of this Committee with the help and co-operation of the city authorities have come so logically and so sensibly that only when we compare that which was with that which is do we get a true picture of what has been accomplished.

Previous to the time the legislative commission known as the Page Commission was formed, the magistrates' courts or police courts, before which all offenders must be brought either for final disposition in case of petty offenses or to be held for a higher court in the case of more serious offenses, had been like Topsy. They just grew. The old justice of the peace courts fitted to rural districts had been multiplied in a patchwork way to meet the needs of a great city.

These courts, scattered throughout the city, were, in the main, the undisputed preserves of corrupt politicians. Under the cover of public indifference the poor, the unjustly accused, the unfortunate, the weak and frightened, were shamefully exploited.

The shyster lawyer, hand in glove with the clerks and the police attendants, wrung from the distracted inmates of the detention pen the last dollar they possessed. In some instances the ward politician went over the calendar each morning to designate those who were to be protected by his benign favor.

The general atmosphere of the court-room was that of vulgar, corrupt oppression. The beefy policemen assigned to sinecure court jobs through influence intimidated the respectable citizen, the timid, the ignorant, and the criminal with the same rude incivility.

The trials were shameful in their lack of dignity and fairness. Often the accused was an entire outsider to the whole proceeding, being unable to hear what was said against him, and not given opportunity to say anything in his own defense.

The courts were wretchedly housed in miserable and generally very noisy quarters.

There were no adequate records kept, no means of determining the old from the new offenders. The probation officers were policemen with scarcely a notion of what the word probation meant.

Into these crowded, unwholesome courts every morning were drawn, as in a vast net hauled from the depth of the underworld, the prostitute, the thug, the drunk, the pickpocket, the panderer, and their like. Together with these were herded the poor, ignorant, unfortunate violators of petty ordinances, the misguided first offenders, the unjustly accused, the respectable citizens, the poor forlorn women with their children seeking redress from deserting husbands, young, wayward, and unfortunate girls and boys over sixteen years of age.

It was an outrage to respectable people, a shameful wrong to the unfortunate and the ignorant, and general injustice and unfairness to all.

To correct these evils the Page Commission drafted legislation which it submitted with its report to the Legislature. This proposed legislation became law, and provided the framework for the organization and administration of these courts along enlightened, scientific, and humanitarian principles.

High-minded and zealous officials, with an earnestness and a public spirit too seldom found in American municipal affairs, worked intelligently and untiringly for the improvement of things. They were given the support of public-spirited citizens in the organized efforts of the Committee on Criminal Courts, with a staff of paid experts. In fact, this Committee often became the leader in the study of conditions and the plans for improvement.

As the result of the concerted endeavor of all, in marked contrast to the former corrupt conditions, the inferior criminal courts of New York are now conducted with a dignity and impressiveness equal to that of the highest court in the State.

The shyster lawyer is no longer a favored hanger-on. The vulgar police attendant has been replaced by courteous, intelligent civilian attendants selected by civil service examinations. The courts are better housed, and there is an atmosphere of decorum that speaks volumes to the foreigners who often get their only conception of our institutions through them.

Probation is being developed as one of the most effective means of reform. Civilian officers selected by careful civil service tests use their authority in a kindly, helpful way. They are the good Samaritans of the court, seeking by kindly guidance to bring back to self-respect and usefulness those who by ignorance, willfulness, or misfortune have fallen into the hands of the law.

By use of the finger-print records and the field investigations by the Probation Department the court is enabled to become as wise as a serpent in the disposition of the hardened criminal, and helpful and kindly in the case of the erring and unfortunate first offender.

Comparative figures showing the percentage of each class of offenders discharged, fined, and sent to prison by each of the forty magistrates sitting in rotation in the various courts are compiled and published each year. These figures show great diversity of treatment of the same classes of offenders by the different judges. Comparison from year to year enables each judge to measure up his work with that of his colleagues. By this means personal eccentricities of magistrates are influencing their decisions less and an approach to a flexible standard of justice in these inferior courts is being attained.

Special courts known as Courts of Domestic Relations have been established to give relief to poor wives and children by compelling support from deserting and non-supporting husbands and fathers. The Children's Courts have been established, entirely separate from adult courts, with a large staff of probation officers, as the most effective means of reformation in bringing the children back to normal living in the community.

Other special courts have been organized to give expert treatment to special classes of offenders.

The Women's Night Court has been developed as the social-evil court and a salvage station to retrieve women and girls from lives of shame. A Traffic Court has been organized to hear all violations of traffic laws and ordinances. A Municipal Term Court has been established to hear all cases in which a State or a City Department is the complainant.

The use of the summons has been widely extended, so that now, with the exception of cases of grave moral turpitude, persons are handed a court summons instead of being summarily arrested and locked up.

Double trials, with the incident hardship to the poor unable to get bail and with waste of citizens' and officials' time, have been eliminated in thousands of cases of petty misdemeanors by giving the magistrates broader power to dispose of them summarily.

Central bureaus of records have been established. The work of the courts has been centralized and co-ordinated under a board of magistrates and boards of justices for the Courts of Special Sessions and Children's Courts, with a chief magistrate and chief justices as executive heads of departments.

Much has been said by American and foreign commentators on the corruption and inefficiency of our municipal governments. The cause of this lies in our public indifference and lack of interest in municipal affairs.

The story of the improvement in the New York inferior criminal courts can be the story of any department of any American city's government if a group of intelligent, public-spirited citizens put their shoulders to the wheel, arouse public sentiment, study conditions, and devise means of improvement. The Charity Organization Society, under the leadership of Lawrence Veiller, did this for New York. The Russell Sage Foundation furnished the funds for expert service.

Other men and other organizations can do similar services for other communities. Some communities are making a beginning in their courts. Others should follow until our land is rid of the old evil-smelling police courts with the corrupt political boss, the weak, rubber-stamp judge, the bullying attendant, corrupt clerks, and shyster lawyers. Our courts of the poor would then be clothed with a dignity, kindliness, and intelligence that would restore to lives of usefulness many of the members of that vast forgotten army of the misguided unfortunate and erring petty offenders against our laws.

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WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY

BY J. MADISON GATHANY, A.M.

HOPE STREET HIGH SCHOOL, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Based on The Outlook of June 19, 1918

Each week an Outline Study of Current History based on the preceding number of The Outlook will be printed for the benefit of current events classes, debating clubs, teachers of history and of English, and the like, and for use in the home and by such individual readers as may desire suggestions in the serious study of current history.—THE EDITORS.

[Those who are using the weekly outline should not attempt to cover the whole of an outline in any one lesson or study. Assign for one lesson selected questions, one or two propositions for discussion, and only such words as are found in the material assigned. Or distribute selected questions among different members of the class or group and have them report their findings to all when assembled. Then have all discuss the questions together.]

I—INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

A. Topic: "Standing by Russia."
Reference: Page 302.
Questions:

1. Mr. Caspar Whitney, as reported in The Outlook, is of the opinion that we labor under three delusions about Russia. What are they? Explain each. 2. Mr. Whitney believes in both economic and military intervention in Russia. What are his reasons? 3. What is his attitude toward the Bolsheviki? Tell why you do or do not agree with it. 4. Is Mr. Whitney right or wrong when he says that "no country can live with a revolution at its door"? 5. Discuss the perils involved in leaving Russia entirely to her own fate. 6. Can you explain how it happened that the working class made itself master of Russia with the exclusion of the *bourgeoisie?* 7. Are the Russians "fools" and "madmen"? Would any other people act differently furnished with the experience of the Russians? 8. Read a specially good book on Russia, "Russia in Upheaval," by E. A. Ross (Century).

B. Topic: Inviting Atrocities.
Reference: Editorial, page 306.
Questions:

1. Explain why this topic has become a current question. 2. Tell freely what you think of a Government that will deliberately sink hospital ships and bomb hospitals. What sort of training must a people have had who will allow, without protest, their Government to do such things? 3. What has The Outlook said in support of its conclusion: "To send an unguarded hospital ship across the Atlantic is to give Germany a chance between slaying the innocent and fooling the credulous"? 4. Does The Outlook go too far in saying that Germany "is *irreparably* guilty"? 5. Do you think it wise to give Germany any more chances to break international law? Discuss. 6. Does Germany blight and dehumanize? Proof. 7. The following books show what sort of a nation Germany is: "Crescent and Iron Cross" (especially chapters v, viii), by E. F. Benson (Doran); "Out of Their Own Mouths," by M. Smith (Appletons); "German Atrocities," by N. D. Hillis (Revell).

C. Topic: The Crushing of Finland; Finland.
Reference: Pages 308, 309; editorial, pages 306, 307.
Questions:

Note.—Read the references in the order given. 1. Give facts in proof of Mr. Kellock's statement that "Finland became another Belgium, another Armenia." 2. Prove that Germany is an enemy of Finland. Can Germany be truly friendly and helpful to any nation? Give reasons. 3. From what these references say, describe the efforts of the Red and White Guards and the results of their activities in Finland. 4. Explain why Bolshevik Russia is an enemy of the people of Finland. To whom else are they an enemy? 5. What explanation have you for the existence of the two evils of Prussianism and Bolshevikism? 6. Give historical evidence of the conditions that are sure to exist in any country that allows itself to become linked to Germany. 7. Tell what you think of those who want the Allies to be tender with Germany now *and after the war?* 8. You will get a lot of information out of and enjoy reading "Finland and the Finns," by Arthur Reade (Dodd, Mead).

D. Topic: Organized Labor and the War.
Reference: Pages 302, 304.
Questions:

Note.—Make this topic the basis of a study of labor, organized labor, and labor problems. 1. The Outlook is pleased as to the report of the American Federation of Labor given at its annual Convention at St. Paul. Tell why. 2. The Federation's Executive Council set forth policies and principles to be kept in mind for the future. What are they? What is your own belief about each one of these? 3. State and discuss the attitude of this Council toward strikes during this war. What does this show? 4. President Wilson sent a message to this Federation. In it he said: "The war can be lost in America as well as on the fields of France." Explain how. Use illustrations. 5. Make several comparisons between the objects and methods of the Industrial Workers of the World and of the American Federation of Labor. 6. If the I. W. W. had their way, do you think they would overturn American institutions and democracy? Discuss. 7. Do you think it Nationally dangerous for lawmakers to disregard social unrest? Reasons. 8. You will find a liberal education on labor in "History of Labour in the United States," by J. R. Commons and Associates (Macmillan). Read an exceedingly suggestive book, "A Preface to Politics," by Walter Lippmann (Holt).

II—PROPOSITIONS FOR DISCUSSION

(These propositions are suggested directly or indirectly by the subject-matter of The Outlook, but not discussed in it.)

1. Germanism is worse than Bolshevikism. 2. For every right there is a corresponding duty. 3. American democracy stands greatly in need of political inventors.

III—VOCABULARY BUILDING

(All of the following words and expressions are found in The Outlook for June 19, 1918. Both before and after looking them up in the dictionary or elsewhere, give their meaning *in your own words.* The figures in parentheses refer to pages on which the words may be found.)

Atrocity, impunity, credulous (306); *débâcle, dénouement,* Finnish Junkers, *bloc, coup,* hooligans, apologists, chasseurs (308); incubus, literate (309).

A booklet suggesting methods of using the Weekly Outline of Current History will be sent on application

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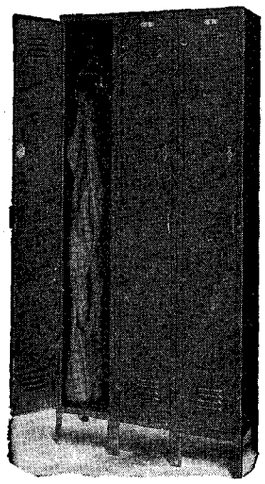

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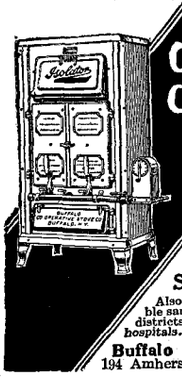

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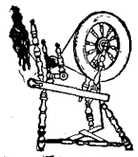

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THE NEW BOOKS

This department will include descriptive notes, with or without brief comments, about books received by The Outlook. Many of the important books will have more extended and critical treatment later

FICTION

Foe-Farrell. By "Q" (Quiller-Couch). The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch has not for many a day written a story which holds the attention so closely as this. It is essentially a study of hate and of the transformation of character by hate. Thus, in a way, Foe becomes Farrell and Farrell becomes Foe. The man who hates his enemy so intensely that he refrains from murder solely because he wants to do something worse invents a sort of psychological torture which is cruel, even though it be well deserved. But his methods react on himself, and his standards of life and culture weaken, while the other man, vulgar, selfish, and dishonorable, attains a certain amount of dignity and character under his suffering.

Sir Arthur takes an impish delight in violating every law of the unities of construction. The machinery of the tale is a sort of "Arabian Nights" scheme, under which a British colonel in the trenches is reminded of a true story by a scrap of newspaper he takes up, and relates it, a bit every night, in the dugout. This is a capital scheme, but Sir Arthur, having invented it, practically forgets it. At one time the story takes a purely farcical turn, and that tale of a wild night spent in avoiding the police is preposterous—but it is also funny. Finally the author settles down to his real purpose. In his analysis of the human heart there are strains of subtlety and skill which remind one of Stevenson in his "Master of Ballantrae."

Mashi, and Other Stories. By Sir Rabindranath Tagore. Translated from the Original Bengali by Various Writers. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

Promise of Air (The). By Algernon Blackwood. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.50.

This is not as fantastical as many of Mr. Blackwood's remarkable stories. On the other hand, it does not take hold of the imagination as strongly as some of its predecessors. It preaches in a delicately fanciful way the Gospel of the Air in the sense that human consciousness and effort should be free and light and have a certain birdlike detachment from the heavy, practical, earthly affairs. Like everything Mr. Blackwood has written, the manner and style are admirable.

Soldiers Both. A Novel. By Gustave Guiches. Translated by Frederic Taber Cooper. The Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York. $1.40.

Way Out (The). By Emerson Hough. Illustrated. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.

Mr. Hough's new story deals with a mountain feud in Kentucky, and shows the effect of the war call on the mountaineers who abandon their old enmities in patriotic endeavor for America.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Santo Domingo. A Country with a Future. By Otto Schoenrich. Illustrated. The Macmillan Company, New York. $3.

"The American occupation of Santo Domingo has already introduced fundamental innovations which will shortly be further developed, and a rapid and radical transformation is in progress." So says the author. "Española [the island of Santo Domingo] is a marvel." So said Columbus. Readers will find Columbus's enthusiasm

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The New Books (Continued)

as to the wonders of this island and the author's hopes for its future abundantly justified in the chapters of this book.

Virgin Islands (The). Our New Possessions and the British Islands. By Theodoor De Booy and John T. Faris. Illustrated. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $3.

When the last hostile submarine shall have been put out of commission and the freedom of the seas is achieved, there will probably be a revival of travel on an unprecedented scale. Americans will then find our new possessions a goal of the greatest interest. Meanwhile a book like this will whet the appetite for the good things that are to come. This volume would make an excellent guide-book for the traveler. Its information is complete and well presented, and there are many good pictures.

HISTORY, POLITICAL ECONOMY, AND POLITICS

Organized Banking. By Eugene E. Agger, Ph.D. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $3.

This valuable volume analyzes the mod ern bank's activities and shows how, through these activities, the bank functions as a far-reaching economic agent. A special feature of the book is its analysis of the principles of our new Federal Reserve system, together with a consideration of the results so far achieved by that system.

WAR BOOKS

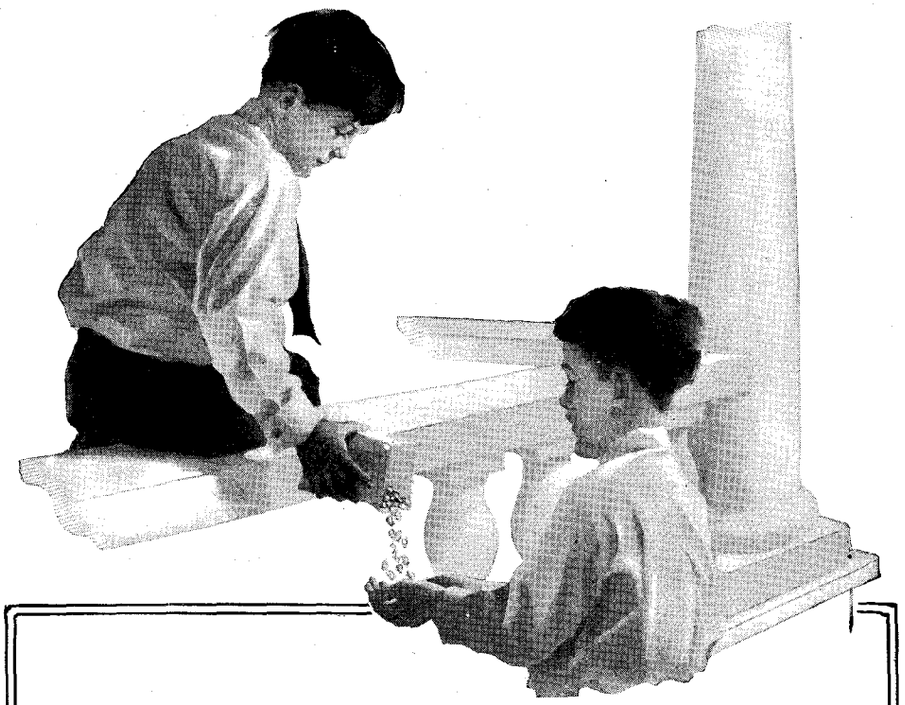
Japan or Germany. The Inside Story of the Struggle in Siberia. By Frederic Coleman, F.R.G.S. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $1.35.

The reason why the title "Japan or Germany" was chosen for this volume was doubtless because uppermost in the author's mind was the query "Should Japan Go to Siberia?" and also the conviction that, whether Japan goes or not, Germany is getting ever closer to Siberia. Most of the book does not have to do with Japan or Germany, but with Siberia itself, unaffected by any outside influences. In no work with which we are acquainted do we learn so well about the Siberian people and the varying conditions under which they have had to live. Indeed, in no book do we get such a side-light on the Bolsheviki as here. In this connection the character study of Agarev, Mayor of Vladivostok, seems worth all the rest of the book together.

Runaway Russia. By Florence MacLeod Harper. Illustrated. The Century Company, New York. $2.

The author of this timely volume spent the first nine months of 1917 in Russia. Her book, with its clever title, portrays conditions under which the Russian army had been fighting for three years. On the western front, as she says, the Allied army is backed by the people at home. In Russia, on the contrary, "nothing but treachery existed behind the lines." Nothing? There surely must have been spots of loyalty here and there. Further sweeping statements are that "there was no ammunition for the guns," and "no motor ambulances were there to rush the wounded to the hospitals." It is true, of course, that the conditions of war for the Russiam army were ghastly enough, in all conscience. As to the civilian side of life, the author's first-hand accounts of the riots and street fighting (of which as yet we do not know all the horrors) and the whole pitiful tragedy of 1917, of which she was a witness, are described in a feminine and emotional but very dramatic and moving manner.

Trucking to the Trenches. Letters from France. June–November, 1917. By John Iden Kautz. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.



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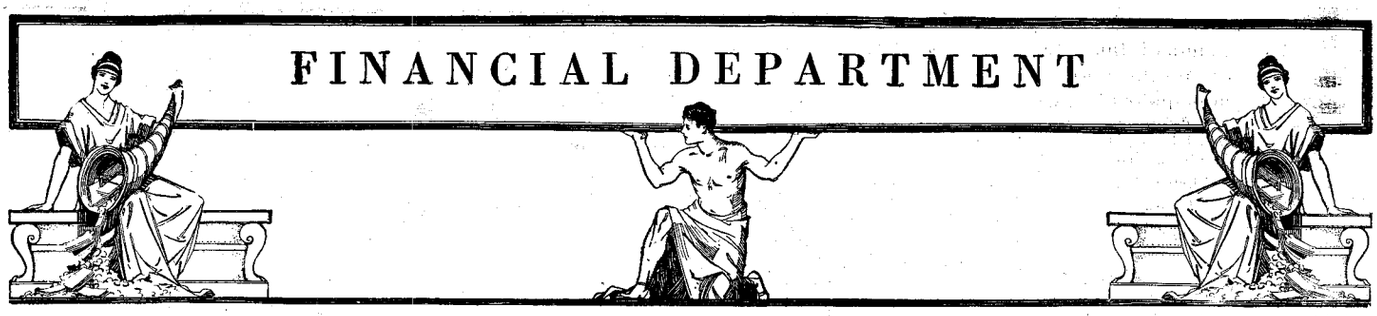
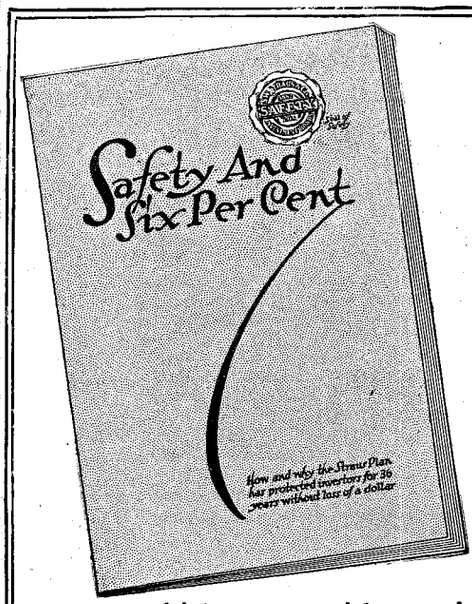


All legitimate questions from Outlook readers about investment securities will be answered either by personal letter or in these pages. The Outlook cannot, of course, undertake to guarantee against loss resulting from any specific investment. Therefore it will not *advise* the purchase of any specific security. But it will give to inquirers facts of record or information resulting from expert investigation, leaving the responsibility for final decision to the investor. And it will admit to its pages only those financial advertisements which after thorough expert scrutiny are believed to be worthy of confidence. All letters of inquiry regarding investment securities should be addressed to

THE OUTLOOK FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York



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We have just published literature of the greatest value to everyone who has money for July Investment. If you have—

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which you wish to invest, write for this literature today. Our newest booklet, a valuable guide to the investment of your funds, is

Safety And Six Per Cent

It concentrates in a few pages the knowledge of thousands of experienced investors, and the practical results of our thirty-six years of selecting, buying and selling safe investments without losing a dollar for any of our clients.

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THE FUTURE OF PUBLIC UTILITY SECURITIES AS INVESTMENTS

THE unprecedented demand for money to finance the war has placed maturing investment securities, as a whole, in an uncertain position. With the continuance of the world struggle corporations have fought an uphill fight for capital. As far as the railways are concerned, the Government has temporarily provided a satisfactory solution. Our industrial corporations, particularly those which were readily adaptable, have been able to show large earnings under the present trying circumstances. Clock factories are making fuses and automobile makers are turning out Liberty motors. Their financial necessities have been met partly by means of the usual bank accommodation and partly from their own profits, which in many cases have been plowed back into the properties.

The question is, What will happen to the public utilities?

A few days ago the War Finance Corporation made an advance to the United Railways of St. Louis, and momentarily a situation was taken care of which up to that point had caused some little concern.

The situation of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company is one that focuses upon itself the attention of the investing public. This company has $57,735,000 5 per cent notes, the largest single block of like obligations falling due during the balance of this year, maturing on July 1. At the time of the present writing the Company has applied to the Capital Issues Committee for permission to refund these notes, and has been refused. In view of the uncertainty, the directors have deferred payment of the usual quarterly dividend to the stockholders. In such a state of affairs one of three things may befall: either (1) a group of banks and bankers will refund the issue; or (2) the concern will effect a compromise with the note-holders, such as an extension of the notes at a higher rate of interest; or (3) the Federal Government will, as in St. Louis, advance the necessary funds against sufficient collateral. In the first case we have a very happy solution; in the second, civil morale would be to some degree endangered. The Government can not afford to have this happen on any considerable scale. And because of the policy pursued with the railways, which also are public servants, and because of the recent statements of President Wilson and Secretary McAdoo that these properties perform a vital service in war work, it would seem to be reasonable to assume that Government assistance for public utilities in such a condition is probable and desirable. Although in some isolated instances companies, notably traction companies serving munition plants, ship-yards, or navy-yards, may be taken over for the duration of the war, it is not likely that the gigantic task of putting under Government management the almost innumerable public service corporations will be attempted in the immediate future. The aid of the War Finance Corporation could be extended to them without this radical step being taken.

Governmental assistance to the public utilities would strengthen the companies themselves. The immediate effect on their securities would be to enhance their value; but ultimately standardization might, by leveling values, discourage trading, and to some extent limit the market for them. The incentive to open new fields of enterprise would be removed, although companies already fortunately established in booming industrial centers would receive a new lease of life, especially as the new order would carry with it needed rate increases.

After all, these considerations do not seriously affect long-term public utility bonds in the same sense as they affect securities which may fall due before the termination of the war. The long-term investments are certain to go on paying their interest with their accustomed promptitude. The long-term issues, unless the war lasts beyond the next decade, will again enjoy the high favor of the investing public. At present prices, which reflect to some degree the present uncertainties of the situation, most of the seasoned public utilities are attractive beyond precedent.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q. Please advise whether or not you consider City of Philadelphia 4½ per cent bonds, which I see advertised in the newspapers, a proper investment for a woman.

A. Most certainly. These come into the class known as "widows' and orphans' bonds." Being free from the Pennsylvania tax, which is exceedingly high, this issue is particularly attractive to residents of that State. Outsiders would, in our opinion, do better in buying equally high grade obligations of some other city, such as New York, whose bonds, not carrying this tax feature, now sell at a price to yield the purchaser about 4.50 or 4.55 per cent, as contrasted with these Philadelphia bonds, which are now offered to yield about 4.30 per cent. Both of the above-mentioned investments are exempt from Federal income tax.

Q. Would you advise investing in any of the paper-manufacturing concerns at the present time?

A. Investment in a first-mortgage bond, short-term note, or preferred stock of a good company might be made with safety. In buying, however, this fact should be borne in mind: that while most of the paper and pulp companies of both the United States and Canada have been exceptionally prosperous in the past few years, have accumulated substantial surpluses, and have put unusual amounts into additions and improvements, this industry has recently been declared non-essential, and it is hard to say what effect this will have on future earnings.

Q. A friend has told me something about certain bonds of the city of New Orleans known as "Premium Bonds."

Apparently these bonds are issued under a lottery plan.

Will you kindly give full particulars?

A. Immediately after the Civil War the finances of the city of New Orleans were in a chaotic state. At that time the Administrator of Finances announced that the City Council, in its efforts to find a solution for its problems, had been compelled to "abandon the ordinary forms of finance as unequal to the occasion, and to seek other and perhaps novel means of meeting the exigency." He therefore submitted a plan for the liquidation of the entire city debt, principal and interest, within fifty years, known as the Premium Bond Plan.

The main object of the plan, which was ratified by the Legislature under Act 31 of

ESTABLISHED 1865

Farm Land Bonds Netting 7%

Security located in well-known prosperous farming community.

Value over twice loan.

Income from farm products five times interest.

First serial instalment of principal already paid off.

Denomination $500. Maturities one to nine years.

Farm land of this character forms ideal security for investment and is of utmost importance to our country at this time.

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A PATRIOTIC INVESTMENT

Agriculture must be financed if food production is not to be retarded. Our Farm Mortgages and Real Estate Bonds are patriotic, profitable and dependable investments. Write for descriptive pamphlet "S" and current offerings.

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E. J. LANDER & CO. Grand Forks, North Dakota
Capital and Surplus $500,000

The worth of a farm mortgage depends upon the land behind it and the care with which the loan is made. The security for

Straus Farm Mortgages

consists only of *improved, productive farms* in the richest sections of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois—the very best land in three of the richest agricultural States, unexcelled for dependability because climate and rainfall are certain, the big buying markets are near, communities are well settled and values are stable.

In our record of nearly sixty years *without loss to a customer*, you have assurance that our loans are carefully made.

As further security, our capital and surplus of $3,000,000.00 stands behind our legal guarantee of full payment of principal and interest at 5¾%.

Write for Special Bulletin and Booklet O-6.

THE STRAUS BROTHERS COMPANY
LIGONIER, INDIANA
ESTABLISHED 1860

CAPITAL AND SURPLUS — THREE MILLION DOLLARS

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Questions and Answers (Continued)

1876, was to convert the bonded debt of the city—which amounted to over $20,000,000, bearing an average annual interest of about 7½ per cent—into premium bonds redeemable in from one to fifty years with 5 per cent interest plus certain prizes. These new bonds were to be 1,000,000 in number, of the denomination of $20, divided into 10,000 series of 100 bonds each, of which a certain number were redeemable within a year. To determine the particular series that was redeemable, all of the numbers of the bonds were put into a wheel, where they have remained for forty years, and four times a year—on January 31, April 15, July 31, and October 15—as many numbers as there are series to be redeemed are drawn out of the wheel by a blindfolded orphan boy. Twice a year, on January 15 and on July 15, these drawn series participate in the premium drawing, at which 1,176 prizes ranging from $20 to $5,000, totaling $50,000, are distributed, and all bonds which do not win a special prize are paid at their par value plus interest, at the rate of 5 per cent from July 15, 1875. The interest is not compounded, but 5 per cent interest on $20 amounts to 50 cents every six months, and for this reason the minimum value continues to become greater with every prize drawing until 1925, when the last of these bonds have been drawn, and when the minimum value of each bond will be $70.

This plan is not an American invention. It is well known in Europe and has been adopted by many large municipalities.

Q. Will you kindly explain what security, if any, is behind the new 6 per cent notes of Armour & Co.?

A. These are debenture bonds, and are a promise to pay issued by the company, having precedence over its common stock. They are not a mortgage, but the trust agreement securing them provides that no additional mortgage shall be placed on the properties and assets of the company which does not include these debentures in the lien of such mortgage. No foreclosure can be accomplished in case of default. The holder is simply a note-holder, and has prior claim only on balance of assets after the $50,000,000 real estate first closed mortgage has been satisfied. The company's total assets at the close of its last fiscal year were $314,174,135.89.

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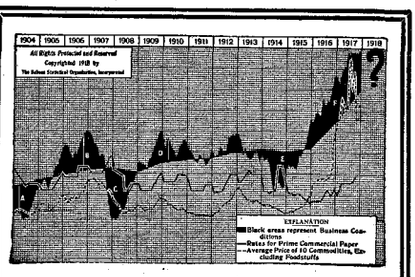
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Authorized Capital $2,000,000
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THE NATION'S INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

Believing that the advance of business is a subject of vital interest and importance, The Outlook will present under the above heading frequent discussions of subjects of industrial and commercial interest. The department will include paragraphs of timely interest and articles of educational value dealing with the industrial upbuilding of the Nation. Comment and suggestions are invited.

MOTOR-TRUCK DELIVERY OF GOODS VITAL TO THE NATION

BY GEORGE A. KISSEL
PRESIDENT KISSEL MOTOR CAR COMPANY

THE non-delivery of goods and supplies necessary to the life of a community can boost the high cost of living just as quickly as non-production due to scarcity of labor or materials.

Right now, at the beginning of summer, the cost of almost every commodity is unusually high. At first glance one would say that the demand is greater than the supply, when, as a matter of fact, the goods are manufactured and ready for consumption, but, owing to a lack of transportation facilities, they cannot be delivered fast enough to those points whence the demand arises.

We all know that the railways have more than they can handle. They are falling far short of keeping up the normal supply of goods while maintaining an uninterrupted delivery of supplies for the Government. In addition, they are called upon to rush shipments of raw materials to manufacturers doing Government work, as well as transport supplies to the workers in the factories.

Thus it can be seen that the railways, while handling a herculean task in a manner that speaks well for Yankee ingenuity, are still unable to keep all civilian channels as fully supplied as formerly. Such a situation will eventually threaten the life of our communities if not remedied. The stocks in retail stores and warehouses are apt to be greatly depleted if supplies cannot reach them regularly and in sufficient quantities. As goods become scarcer the prices on the remaining goods will increase in the same proportion as if the goods were not being manufactured at all.

COMMUNITY TRANSPORTATION COMPANIES

To those communities that have not felt as yet the inability of the railways to keep their merchants supplied with goods, but that realize that it is good judgment to take immediate steps to prevent their being placed in such a position, the motor truck offers immediate and dependable relief.

That the Government realizes the situation can be seen in a good many ways. The recent appropriation of over two hundred and fifty million dollars for more good roads will make it easier for communities to help themselves. The committees on highways and transportation, the excellent work of the Council of National Defense, the inauguration of return loads bureaus, community delivery associations, etc., are all for the purpose of enabling the country to maintain its normal life and work, and at the same time help the railways to keep the lines of communication open between this country and its allies.

I doubt if business men are aware of

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Motor-Truck Delivery of Goods Vital to the Nation
(Continued)

the unusual opportunity the formation of a local motor-truck transportation company affords, the object of which is to haul produce and materials within a radius of fifty miles of a city, or between it and neighboring towns.

If there is one thing that a community must depend on, it is the receiving and shipping of the necessities of life. Not all cities are manufacturing or producing centers. Since their growth from village to town or city they have had to depend on certain supplies coming from the outside. Now, at a time when the facilities for bringing in supplies are threatened to be curtailed, it is up to the local business men, commercial club, chamber of commerce, and other business organizations to take immediate steps to provide dependable transportation.

It has been conclusively demonstrated during the past winter that motor trucks can be used to a decided advantage in relieving the railways of short hauls, and it has also been proved that trucks can be kept in operation over long-distance hauls, as witness the routes now in operation between Akron and Boston, Chicago and New York, Boston and New York, and many others.

Over these routes trucks have been kept in continual operation during the past winter, which everybody knows was one of the most severe in many years, especially in the East. If this is possible, it surely is feasible to keep motor trucks running over shorter distances—out of cities to country communities or to neighboring cities, which, as a rule, are usually connected by fairly good and much-traveled roads.

GOOD ROADS A NATIONAL ASSET

And this brings me to a subject on which I would like to touch—*good roads*. There is not the slightest doubt that those tax-payers who have paid taxes on good roads in their communities have found that such taxes were well spent, and that they have been returned many times through the increased business that these good roads have created and a natural increase in realty values.

It is estimated that there are 2,200,000 miles of public roads within the United States, yet only 156,000 miles of these roads are highly improved or hard surfaced—hardly one-fifteenth of the total—a fact that should give National importance to the vital necessity of more good roads.

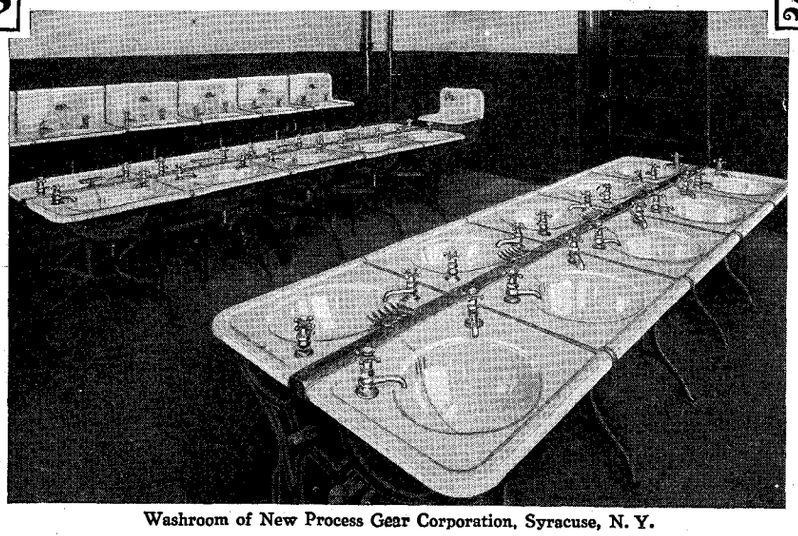
I believe that every community should form a local committee to interview every property-owner, urging that time and money be spent this summer to clean up the roads leading in and out of town.

That it is possible for such organizations to accomplish good work has been proved in different parts of the country. This work depends largely upon local conditions, and to amount to anything the work should go beyond merely keeping the roads filled up by dragging. In fact, it should include the minor betterments on roads which have not been improved, as well as on the improved sections.

I believe that if communities will start this road-building movement this summer and fall, enroll the local children, youth, men, horses, and trucks in the work, even one day a week, dividends will be returned tenfold.

FORM LOCAL TRANSPORTATION COMPANIES

There is in almost every community a group of public-spirited citizens who are



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—those employes of yours—after you have made your investment, on their account, in a line of sanitary plumbing equipment designed to increase the energy, the working spirit, the efficiency and self-respect of each one.

Working people are worth vastly more to themselves and their employers when ability to do is spurred by *eagerness* to do. There's nothing theoretical about this. It is substantiated by many factory owners whose experiences have made it possible for "Factory Sanitation" to be written. A free copy will be sent to you on request.

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render satisfactory service to factory owners throughout the country. Installations of all kinds, large and small, have been furnished by us. Our facilities for manufacturing in large quantities insure prompt shipment and a completely satisfying service. **This is a particularly timely question** because of the growing necessity for putting more women in the places formerly held by men. Factory sanitation thus becomes a more pressing necessity.

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*EAST ST. LOUIS ... 15 COLLINSVILLE
*CLEVELAND ..... 4409 EUCLID
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*TOLEDO ..... 311-321 ERIE
*COLUMBUS ..... 243-255 S. THIRD
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Motor-Truck Delivery of Goods Vital to the Nation
(Continued)

successful business men, owning and operating local concerns. These men are broad-minded and broad-visioned enough to realize the immense benefit the formation of a local transportation company means to the community as a whole, and also know what a good business investment it would make, even with the charges well within the means of those concerns that could be counted upon to patronize such a company.

As for the details of forming such a company, cost of the trucks, their proper size and capacity, upkeep, etc., any of the recognized truck manufacturers will gladly furnish them.

It is interesting to note that the Government is behind this local motor-truck transportation movement, and it is not at all improbable that short hauls—within a radius of forty, fifty, or even one hundred miles of certain cities—will be embargoed so far as railways are concerned. In fact, I understand this has been done in certain localities.

That local motor-truck transportation companies are badly needed is proved by companies now operating and rendering service to communities. There is a motor-truck transportation company in an Eastern city that handles any shipment from one pound to several thousand, and guarantees delivery. Machinery, clothing, woolen goods, textiles, foodstuffs, household articles, building supplies, etc., are being transported by this company, demonstrating that once a transportation company is formed and becomes known, manufacturers and concerns of widely varied business interests, of their own accord, turn to it to help them make early and quick delivery of goods and materials that are now either tied up in freight terminals or are being held at factories until the freight situation improves.

Without a doubt, the condition of the war-congested railways threatens to affect cities and towns in every part of the country, and it is up to every community to have its business men head it off with motor trucks.

In the East merchants and manufacturers have already changed their methods of shipping. It was natural for them to turn to local transportation and transfer companies, and, while the rates charged by such companies are slightly over those charged by the railways, the service rendered has more than made up for this increase, and it is predicted that as motor-truck transportation becomes better established, and with more good roads, the railways will be hard put to compete with such companies even when they have rolling stock to carry out such work.

Even at this time I understand that there are quite a few transportation and transfer companies doing intercity hauling that are not only giving highly efficient service, but are charging a lower rate than the railways or the trolley cars. I have heard of such a company that has more business than it can take care of, and is making a good profit on its investment. This company has a contract with one of the big express companies for helping to move the latter's goods. For this work the transportation company is paid on a contract basis. The rate charged is less than the cost by rail, for, while the railway rate from terminal to terminal is lower, there is an additional cost for pick-up charges at both ends, thus increasing the total rate over that charged by the motor trucks. This proves that from an upkeep standpoint the motor truck can successfully compete with the railways and trolley express companies, rendering better service and still charging shippers a lower rate.

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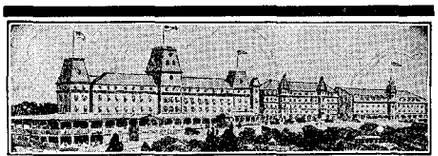
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Motor-Truck Delivery of Goods Vital to the Nation
(Continued)

An exclusive advantage of shipping by motor truck is the absence of delay usual with the railways in unloading goods at terminal points, where they have to wait their turn for delivery. With the motor truck they are taken immediately to their ultimate destination.

The service of this transportation company has been such an improvement over former methods of shipping that its total business now amounts to transporting approximately $25,000,000 worth of goods per year.

I recently ran across an article in which the very opportunity I mentioned in the first part of this article was pointed out—the big opportunity offered to local transportation companies. The gist of this article is as follows:

Any transfer man with motor trucks can now build up a good business. The first thing he must do is to advertise in a way that will reach the manufacturer and shipper. He must tell them in his advertisements that his trucks run on regular schedules between the towns he is serving, and also that he guarantees to deliver the goods within a specified time. He must also make a rate that is satisfactory to the customer and at the same time large enough to enable him to make a profit. Any express, transportation, or transfer man who follows the above and backs it up with efficient service will have no trouble in getting more work than he can handle for many years to come. Certainly the motor truck has enabled us to do some wonderful things this past year.

ANGLO-AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITY

In reading the Life of Lord Russell of Killowen, by R. Barry O'Brien, on page 288 I find the quotation given below, which, I think, is of especial interest at the present time. In the autumn of 1896 Lord Russell was invited to deliver the annual address before the American Bar Association at Saratoga Springs. In the course of the address he made the following statement:

"I began by speaking of the two great divisions—American and British—of that English-speaking world which you and I represent to-day, and, with one more reference to them, I end. Who can doubt the influence they possess for insuring the healthy progress and the peace of mankind? But if this influence is to be fully felt they must work together in cordial friendship, each people in its own sphere of action. If they have great power, they have also great responsibility. No cause they espouse can fail, no cause they oppose can triumph. The future is in large part theirs; they have the making of history in the times that are to come. The greatest calamity that could befall would be strife which should divide them. Let us pray that this shall never be. Let us pray that they, always self-respecting, each in honor upholding its own flag, safeguarding its own heritage of right, and respecting the rights of others, each in its own way fulfilling its high national destiny, shall yet work in harmony for the progress and peace of the world."

MARTHA EDDY HAWES.

Bakewell, England.

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